National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, tests publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

NL-339 (r. 88/04)

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN REVOLUTIONARY GRENADA

1979 - 1983

BY

(C) Brenda Louise Jensen

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1987

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-41101-5

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Brenda Louise Jensen

TITLE OF THESIS: Educational Change in Revolutionary Grenada: 1979 - 1983

DEGREE: Master of Education

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1987

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

9127 - 74 Ave.
Edmonton, AB

DATE: July 6, 1987

Wednesday 26 October, 1983

Belmont, Grenada

Early that afternoon, I ventured down to the beach below my house and sat watching the helicopters moving in droves towards Point Salines. I took up conversation with a man from my community. We talked at length about the situation. Two points remain clear in my mind. He talked about the struggle that Grenadians had gone through over the years. How under Gairy the people were denied education. He said that I must remember that the Gairyites never changed, that they would never want the people to know. He said that the most important thing that the Revolution had brought was education. The Revolution wanted people to learn, understand and grow. Now we could realize how important that is. Now we have a duty to continue the process in whatever way we are able.

From: Grenada: A Diary of an Invasion

Race and Class, XXV, 3(1984)

Source not credited

"A united, conscious, organized, vigilant people can never be defeated."

Slogan of the Grenadian Revolution

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Educational Change in Revolutionary Grenada: 1979-1983 submitted by Brenda Louise Jensen in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Education in Secondary Education.

.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date: May 1, 1987.

ABSTRACT

The educators within the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Grenada discussed and wrote strong criticisms of the effects of a colonial legacy on their school systems both before and after they took power in 1979. During the four years that they were governing Grenada, a concentrated effort was made to bring better education to the people. Their educational programmes were in both the formal and non-formal sectors. The problems that they had identified about the formal school system were not necessarily overcome. Dramatic change in the formal school system would have disaffected much of the population. In the non-formal sector many programmes centred around basic adult literacy, functional literacy, and health/employment programmes. Every educational programme contained within it a political education component which was necessitated because of the felt need for consolidated public support in face of threatened invasions, economic embargoes, and counter-revolutionary forces, or as one educator has described it, "destabilization" (Searle, 1984).

A priority of the PRG policy was for a conscious, organized, and vigilant people. They created many structures in their participatory democracy to allow the

involvement of all. However, their Deomcratic Centralist government became elitist and exclusive, isolating all but a few from decision-making. It was perhaps this flaw in the structure of the PRG which led to its demise.

ACKNOWLDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express sincere gratitude to all those who helped and supported her in the completion of this thesis. Special thanks are extended to:

Dr. K. Jacknicke, the author's advisor, for his guidance and advice;

Dr. J. Jagodzinski and Dr. R. Pannu, Committee members, for their reactions and constructive comments;

The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, for allowing this study to be conducted in its schools;

The helpful and patient individuals in Grenada who assisted in the building of a picture of the revolutionary changes that their country was undergoing;

Regina Cochrane and Soren Jensen, for their constant encouragement, insightful comments and solid support throughout the writing of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
	Statement of the Problem and Approach to the Study	1
	Why Study Grenada?	3
	Definitions	4
	Rationale	5
	Theoretical Perspectives and Pertinent Literature	7
	Methodology	20
	Overview of Activities in Grenada	21
	Critical Ethnography	25
II.	BACKGROUND OF GRENADA	28
	The Evolution of a Plantation Society	29
	Amerindian Presence in Grenada	29
	Early Colonization of Grenada	30
	The Slave Trade	32
	French Influences	32
	The Fedon Rebellion	33
	The Grenadian Plantation System	34
	African Cultural Remnants	36
	Demise of the Plantation System	37
	Collapse of the Sugar Industry	37
	Reform of Slavery	38
	The Emancipation Act	39

Indentured Labour..... 40
Schooling Provision - 19th Century..... 41
Schools for Black Children..... 41
The Negro Education Fund..... 42
The La Trobe Commission..... 42
Grenada as a Crown Colony..... 44
Parochial Boards..... 45
The Emerging 'Coloured' Middle Class..... 46
Marryshow..... 46
Grenada's Peasantry..... 47
Trade Unions and the Grenadian Peasants..... 50
Grenadian Education in the 20th Century..... 50
The Leadership of E.M. Gairy..... 54
The Grenadian People's Party/Grenada United Labour Party..... 55
Gairy's Dictatorship: 1967 - 79, the Source of Revolutionary Ferment..... 57
The Development of the New Jewel Movement..... 60
The New Jewel Movement..... 61
Rat Island Meeting..... 64
Early Political Organizing..... 65
New Jewel Movement: Non-capitalist Development..... 66
Bernard Coard..... 70
Early Actions of the NJM Party..... 71
Grenada and the NJM after Independence..... 73
NJM: Moving in a Marxist-Leninist Direction. 74

NJM Statement of Principles..... 76
NJM Take Over..... 77
III. EDUCATION IN REVOLUTIONARY GRENADA..... 79
Educational Directions of the New Jewel Movement..... 79
The Statement of Principles..... 79
The 1973 Manifesto..... 80
The Process of Gaining Public Support - an Educational Task..... 85
Educational Programmes of the New Jewel Movement..... 85
Support for the NJM in the Educational Community..... 89
Educational Policy of the PRG..... 93
Early Statements Concerning Educational Policy made by the PRG..... 94
Developing Educational Goals..... 96
National Training Seminar..... 96
Work Study Approach for Community Education - Paulo Freire Workshop..... 100
IV. EDUCATION IN REVOLUTIONARY GRENADA: THE INHERITED PROGRAMME AND NEW INITIATIVES..... 109
The Educational System Inherited by the PRG... 109
Primary and Secondary Educational Changes by the PRG..... 115
School Fees, School Repairs..... 116
Reduction of the Teacher-Student Ratio..... 116

Truancy: A Continuing Problem..... 117
Secondary School Placements..... 117
Science Teachers from the Soviet Union..... 118
Scholarships..... 118
School Feeding Programmes..... 119
Review of the Education Act..... 120
Curriculum Development Within Formal School Settings..... 120
Secondary Schools: Important Sites for Political Change..... 124
Developments in Science Curriculum..... 126
Developments in Agricultural Science Curricula..... 127
Agricultural Training Centres..... 133
Agricultural Training Centre Production of Food for School Meals Programmes..... 134
Summary..... 135
Educational Changes by the PRG in Adult and Community Education..... 136
Mirabeau Agricultural Training School..... 136
La Sagesse Agricultural Training School.... 137
Fisheries School..... 138
Training for Health Professionals..... 138
Other Programmes..... 139
Educational Messages as Part of Popular Culture 142
Education...Let Out of Its Cage..... 143

The Press..... 146
Publications Produced by the PRG..... 148
Changes in Civic Events..... 149
Summary..... 149
V. THREE MAJOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES INTRODUCED BY THE PRG..... 151
National In-Service Teacher Education Programme 151
Programme Rationale..... 151
NISTEP Director: Chris Searle..... 152
The Curriculum..... 154
Teacher-Trainees' Perceptions of Education in Grenada..... 155
NISTEP Curricular Resources..... 156
Reaction of NISTEP Teacher-Trainees to the Programme..... 159
Summary..... 160
Community School Day Programme..... 161
Objectives and Structure..... 161
Summary..... 168
Personal Involvement as a CSDP Volunteer... 169
Comments about CSDP in Practice..... 172
Summary..... 174
Centre for Popular Education..... 174
The Literacy Campaign..... 177
Interview with a Literacy Pupil, Miss Sylvester..... 179

Phase II: Adult Education Programme..... 182
Content Analysis of CPE Textual Resources.. 184
Literacy Reader and Manual..... 184
Post-literacy Booklet: Let Us Continue Reading..... 187
Adult Education Books - Grade One to Four 188
Summary..... 193
VI. DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND REFLECTIONS..... 195
The PRG's Stated Educational Obectives..... 196
The PRG's Educational Work With the Masses: Building a Participatory Democracy..... 198
Mass Organizations..... 199
Councils..... 200
NJM Party..... 201
Participation in the Passing of Laws..... 202
Constitutional Entrenchment of Participatory Democracy..... 203
Evidence of People's Power, the Culture of Grenada?..... 203
National Conferences Related to the Budget. 206
National Training Seminar..... 208
Criticism of the Participatory Process..... 209
Control by Council or Central Committee?... 209
Rallies: Unidirectional Flows of Information..... 210
Mass Participation or Assessment of the Mass-

es?..... 211
NJM Agenda: Orthodox Marxism-Leninism, Not Participatory Democracy..... 212
Line of March Speech..... 215
The NJM's Hidden Educational Agenda..... 218
Pro-Cuba Stance..... 220
Anti-Imperialism..... 221
Scientism..... 222
Patriotism..... 223
Critical Reflection upon the PRG's Educational Programmes..... 225
Formal School Settings..... 225
NISTEP..... 227
NISTEP Tutors..... 227
NISTEP Curriculum..... 228
The Grenadian Teacher..... 230
CSDP's Role..... 231
The Impact of Poor Transportation..... 233
Agricultural Education: The Achilles Heel.. 234
Summary..... 235
Critical Reflection upon the Centre for Popular Education..... 236
Overview..... 238
A Grenadian Postscript..... 241
Personal Reflections..... 242
BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 247
APPENDIX A. PRIMARY TEXTUAL SOURCES..... 252

APPENDIX B. TEACHERS SPEAK..... 258

APPENDIX C. POEMS FOR CHILDREN..... 265

APPENDIX D. LANGUAGE AND COLONIALISM MODULE..... 269

APPENDIX E. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS..... 273

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Statement of the Problem and Approach of the Study

In 1979 a revolution occurred in Grenada. In 1983, a internal struggle developed within the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) that led to a bloody coup and ended with the invasion of Grenada by the U.S. Marines and Caribbean regional forces.

In the four years that the PRG was in power (1979-83), many educational programmes were developed and significant attempts to reform the island's educational system were made.

This thesis, based partly on my own field research in Grenada, explores the PRG experiments in educational reform which were substantially thwarted after October, 1983.

This study critically examines a Third World country that had undergone a socialism-seeking revolution and had claimed to be making massive changes resulting in emancipation of its people.

In order to assess the curricular change that Grenada underwent in both its formal and non-formal educational areas, it is necessary to provide extensive historical background to the country, fairly descriptive data of the

educational changes that were undergone during the revolution, and then, interpretations of the described changes.

This first chapter contains a review of the rationale for choosing to study the impact of revolution on education in Grenada, the theoretical orientation of the study, the pertinent literature, and a brief description of the methodology used. Chapter II describes the contextual background for the study: historical, political, sociological, economic, and educational information about Grenada. Chapters III, IV, and V constitute the observations of the study: a description of the education system the PRG inherited, the educational platform of the PRG, the process of educational change, and the programme of educational reform. The primary textual sources referred to and cited are listed in Appendix A. The discussion of educational reform includes both formal and non-formal aspects. Condiderations of the ideology inherent in the PRG developed curricula are presented.

The final chapter, VI, provides discussion, conclusions, and reflections of the PRG's educational programme as well as a few personal reflections upon the study.

In this discussion, the educational goals of the PRG's political party, the New Jewel Movement, are described. An attempt is made to assess the satisfaction of the New Jewel

Movement with the achievements of the educational programmes, and to gauge how far the programmes had progressed in meeting these goals. The interpretations will attempt to show the relationship between educational reform and the actions of the Grenadian state as well as the expectations of the Grenadian people.

To assist readers, a list of abbreviations is included in Appendix E.

Why Study Grenada?

Grenada was the first English-speaking state in modern times to come to power by revolutionary means (Bishop, 1984:xiii). The dramatic political change of the revolution involved a fundamentally new political orientation for the Grenadian state. It had abruptly changed from a Westminister representative parliamentary democracy controlled by an autocratic prime minister to a democratic centralist government on a non-capitalist route to socialism led by a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, the New Jewel Movement. To illustrate how this ideological change affected the educational curricula, from a very broad perspective, critical reflection upon the new programmes and their implementation was needed. Had they indicated a fundamental shift or were they, ultimately, just the same old structures similar to those before the

revolution? What had been going on inside of the formal school system, and also in the non-school areas? To answer these questions, a comparison of the educational objectives, programmes, and concerns of the New Jewel Movement, both before the coup (1973-79), and after (1979-83) was essential to an understanding of the educational changes that were taking place. The necessity of examining the non-formal area was reinforced by this catchy slogan of the Grenadian revolution: "Education is production too!"

Definitions

Throughout the study, the term "curriculum" will have a broad context, and will direct inquiry beyond the school boundaries into a "larger vision of education in culture" (Schubert, 1982:228). By adopting this broad definition many popular education programmes implemented to involve and mobilize Grenadians into action directed at improving their condition are included in the study as well as programmes offered through formal schooling. Harber (1985), writing about education in revolutionary Zimbabwe promoted enquiry into these curricular areas.

Rationale

What was the rationale for choosing Grenada as a location for the discussion of educational change within the revolutionary context? Several important considerations fell in the favour of conducting a study in Grenada. First, was the importance of the study of change taking place in a developing country with a revolutionary context; Grenada certainly was that, and had the added factor of being English speaking. All literature indicated that the new government was attempting to establish a participatory democracy (one that encouraged the participation of all citizens in the decision making of the state, as opposed to representative democracy) along socialist lines, focusing on emancipation and the development of a mixed economy; educational implementation and change were therefore heightened.

Of interest was the consideration that Canada had a history of financial assistance to Grenada and its educational programmes. Perhaps this generosity was encouraged by the fact that both countries belong to the Commonwealth. Considerable material aid was received in the form of school buildings and text resources. Canadian teachers had often been volunteers in Grenadian schools. The Grenadian revolutionary government had consented to assistance from non-governmental organizations and reported

that they were receptive to interested foreigners who wanted to observe the transformation of their society.

On a practical note, Grenada was accessible by fairly cheap charter flights from Toronto to Barbados, making the expense of financing the study somewhat less prohibitive. It must be noted here that I personally bore the brunt of the financing the study, so this was an important consideration; it would have been impossible to have conducted the same study in Tanzania, for example, due to the much greater costs.

Through graduate students and a staff person in the Women's Program, Faculty of Extension at the University of Alberta, initial communication about the impending study was made with educators in the National In-Service Teacher Education Programme in Grenada (NISTEP). Other educators who had toured Grenada shortly before the planned study indicated that entry into the Grenadian context would probably not be too difficult and that the objectives of the study could likely be met. Grenadians living in Edmonton were contacted and basic survival information was gained.

Of interest to curriculum studies was the involvement of Paulo Freire in the planning of educational change following the revolution. He assisted in a workshop with Grenadian teachers and ministry officials to develop a work-study for community education programme (February

20-28, 1980).

It was the changes to the schools which had special significance to the people of Grenada. Media reports indicated that the school system in particular, had been adversely affected by the former P.M. Eric M. Gairy's regime, and had very limited financial infusion over the past 20 years. The manifesto of the New Jewel Movement indicated that considerable attention would be paid to schools as sites for progressive change in the society and to the development of adult literacy programmes, general adult education, the expansion of the secondary school system, along with the removal of secondary school tuition fees (New Jewel Movement, 1974). For these reasons, Grenada was selected as the location of the study.

Theoretical Perspectives and Pertinent Literature

The new sociology of education insists that questions must be raised about education as a reproducer of society's hierarchical arrangements. Some educators have taken this challenge a step further to examine the role of education in societies undergoing dramatic change which may reduce disparity and challenge the status quo (for example, Kozol's 1978 studies in Cuba).

Aiding this study of curriculum by encouraging

educators to examine the "taken for granted" assumptions and "shared sets of meanings" in knowledge, is Michael Young's assertion that all knowledge is socially constructed (1971). He points out that all which is considered common sense must be held up to close examination to determine "how and why certain dominant categories persist and their possible links with sets of interests and occupational groups" (Sarup, 1978:15). This orientation is a useful one when examining countries such as Grenada with great economic disparity and a colonial legacy.

The consideration of both knowledge and human interests is rooted in discussions by the Frankfurt School; Habermas (1971) suggests that these interests are socially structured around human relationships to the material world. When examining education in revolutionary settings, it is most important to consider Freire's statement that the revolution in any society is eminently pedagogical (1970:53). Noting that transformation of the economic base goes nowhere without a social or cultural context, he points out two aspects of education in a revolutionary context: a) "educational projects, which should be carried out with the oppressed in the process of organizing them," presumably both before and after actually assuming political power and b) "systematic education which can only be changed by political power" (Freire, 1970:40).

Many educators, especially in developing countries have viewed and still view schooling as eminently beneficial. Their position has been to encourage all educational investment based on the belief that it promotes economic growth, increases productivity, generates greater employment, and brings about enlightenment and civilization (Schultz, 1977). Despite infusion of funds into education, the expected impact of economic well-being often does not come about. Over 20% of government expenditure in the early 60's in Grenada was on education, only slightly lower than that spent on the most costly area--medical and sanitation. In spite of this investment, the Grenadian economy was in a tail-spin for the next two decades. Even so, the belief was widespread in Grenada, and is so in most other countries, that upward social mobility and economic prosperity can be gained through education.

Generally, the inability of educational investment to contribute the desired economic spurt would have led to a withdrawal of funds to education. Researchers, often from Marxist and neo-Marxist schools of sociology and education, sought explanations for this inefficiency. One such researcher, a prolific writer, Martin Carnoy, challenged that every critical examination of education must also include an analysis of the development strategies involved: "Putting more resources into education and managing it better may make the educational system a pleasant place and

may even increase learning...but will not solve social and economic inequality or unemployment - these are attributes of the development pattern itself" (Carnoy, 1982:162).

The perspectives mentioned in this section: the social construction of knowledge and its links with sets of interests and occupational groups, the importance of the social context in a revolutionary situation, the tendency for education to be accepted as beneficial, and the need to examine a country's developmental strategy alongside its educational programme, will aid in this study's examination of educational alternatives. They will form parameters through which a critical examination of the educational changes in revolutionary Grenada will be approached. The analysis will determine if Grenada's educational changes have in fact perpetuated society's hierarchy or brought about positive social change; whether knowledge is structured and presents particular interests or is deeply ingrained in an empancipatory development policy.

As well, this study looks at a revolutionary society and asks what happens when a society proceeds toward a different political social structure--socialism. Does the state utilize the school system to enforce the new structures, ideologies, and relationships and if so, how?

Initial questions concerning the state's role with relationship to reproducing society's hierarchy were asked by correspondence theorists such as Bowles and Gintis

(1976) who examined capitalist societies. They emphasized the role of the state in enforcing the class structure through the socialization process that takes place within schools.

Some researchers have built upon the correspondence role, which is considered rather oversimplified, described by Bowles and Gintis. Willis (1977) had conducted an extensive ethnographic study of the resistance of working class 'lads' to the explicit and hidden curriculum of the school that they attended. They had turned their back on the myth of 'school as salvation' but their resistance to the school system resulted in their eventual demise to working class jobs yet again.

Are these correspondence and resistance models useful to help understand the limitations of traditional education's role in third world development? What about when the revolutionary context observed presents that it seeks to understand and change the traditional education system?

This study will also need to take into consideration the wealth of recent academic study of education in developing countries which has been along functionalist lines. The main concern has been the need of schools to expand curricular offerings so that they will coincide with the national development goals and provide a vocationally trained population. Certainly this perspective has been

expressed in research conducted in the West Indies as described by a number of authors (Z. Jennings-Wray and V. Teape, 1982; Z. Jennings-Wray, 1982; Bacchus, 1980; Oxtoby, 1977). But better vocational educational provision has not been the only concern of these authors. Building upon the writings of Carnoy (1974), they have been outraged at the 'cultural imperialism' and the empty certification of the educational provision of the British colonial school system in the West Indies.

Also very helpful to the study are the extremely rigorous works written about Grenada over the past two decades, mostly originating as studies from the University of West Indies: M.G. Smith, Stratification in Grenada (1965); Archie Singham, The Hero and the Crowd in Colonial Polity (1968); Patrick Emmanuel, Crown Colony Politics in Grenada, 1917-1951 (1978); Beverley A. Steele, "Grenada, an Island State, It's History and It's People" (1974). As the titles suggest, these authors document various aspects of Grenadian history, most describing the community from a sociological or political science perspective and include reference to education. They have all contributed to the background information needed to examine the roots of the revolutionary movement in Grenadian society.

Useful in a specific examination of Grenada's educational system has been a comprehensive study of pre-revolutionary Grenada by Brizan (1984). He documents

the development of the formal school system in the 1800's, describing the apalling lack of provision for the schooling of working class children (Chapter II). Brizan presents the somewhat improved educational offering that evolved in the 20th century because of the expansion of the formal school system, however, he is critical that "Education in the early 20th Century taught the Grenadian to adore and even deify the British" (p. 295). The plight of schools during the era of former prime minister of Grenada, E.M. Gairy is discussed. His conclusions are very poignant: "As the colonial system [of education] was not based on education for production and employment it was not only generally irrelevant but often wasteful" (p. 295).

In the literature several authors have made specific comments about Grenada's education pertinent to this study. An article by Colin Brock (1982), "The Legacy of Colonialism in West Indian Education" is useful to this discussion. His analysis of colonialism expands the concept, building on Altbach and Kelly (1978), into four distinct types: classical colonialism, internal colonialism, neo-colonialism, and post-colonialism.

Each of these periods have affected the educational system. Classical colonialism refers to the pre-emancipatory and post-emancipatory era of West Indian history with its influences from Europe and the shift from a pre-capitalist plantation to a corporate plantation

economy. Internal colonialism exhibits its stongest educational influence in the formalized institutions of education. The neo-colonial tendency has been the reluctance of mother countries to grant independence and of industrialized nations to continue to dominate the countries of the West Indies after formal independence has been achieved.

Of greatest interest when studying Grenada has been the three subcategories of post-colonialism that Brock (1982) describes: i) new colonialism, ii) regional metropolitanism, and iii) decolonization. When nations other than those historically involved in the West Indies gain importance, this liason, such as the Soviet Union's involvement with Cuba, is characterized by Brock as new colonialism. He defines regional metropolitanism to be "the tendency in an area comprising a number of newly independent nations for one of them to become dominant" (p. 125). Decolonization is, in Brock's terms, the ability for a country to develop an indigenous and organic educational system, which he sees examples of in the arts. Although Brock's main illustration of regional metropolitanism in the West Indies is the regional university (University of West Indies), he continues:

> ...the phenomenon of regional metropolitanism can also operate through such media as ideological propaganda and various forms of aid to smaller nations...the influence of Cuba, first in Jamaica

> and latterly in the Windward Islands, especially Grenada, has had significant effects on some aspects of post-colonial educational philosophy and policy. (p. 125)

Brock briefly describes and illustrates the main lasting West Indian colonial legacies in education quoting Demas: "We remain prisoners of either explicit or implicit ideologies...developed abroad to suit other peoples experience and needs decades ago and sometimes even centuries ago" (p. 139). He describes how difficult it is to convince the West Indian elite that they should reverse their attitudes toward an inappropriate education system that, in actuality, has been responsible for setting them apart. He is very critical of radical educational change asserting that it would be "tantamount to political suicide" because of the "faith of the mass of West Indians in 'education for salvation'" (p. 139).

Of major importance to the examination of education in developing countries is the work of Paulo Freire whose fundamental concern is the education of oppressed, silenced people. Freire's writings include: Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1970; Education for Critical Consciousness, 1973; Cultural Action for Freedom, 1975; Pedagogy in Process: the Letters from Guinea-Bissau, 1978; The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation, 1985. He examines the political nature of education, particularly in those countries which have suffered, or are suffering from

imperialism--and in their schools, cultural imperialism: Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, and Nicaragua.

Freire's interest in assisting popularly-supported revolutionary societies brought him to Grenada, as was mentioned previously. He worked for a week with teachers and Ministry of Education officials in early 1980, trying to assist in the formation of directives for implementing a community based work study programme.

Freire's theory of literacy, briefly, involves both the political and personal consciousness-raising of oppressed, illiterate people. Their literacy is achieved through growing awareness of their oppression--but not only that--a commitment for political action for liberation. He has a definite perspective concerning the role of the revolutionary leadership. Such leaders originate from the petit bourgeoisie who have committed 'class suicide' and who, through continual dialogue and commitment to the oppressed, will lead them to emancipation. Freire's theory focuses on the cultural aspects of revolution and therefore has been particularly helpful to this study.

Since the 1970's and 1980's a discussion surrounding Freire's work has emerged including: challenges to his theories, further examination of the methodology used in education for liberation, and questions about the role of revolutionary leadership in revolutionary struggle. The volume edited by Robert Mackie (1981) has been a useful

source of this type of discussion. Unfortunately, there has not been any examination of the revolutionary process in Grenada in these writings of the revolutionary setting. Research of samples of the pedagogical resources from a revolutionary society are often not in English, an added difficulty. This study will provide a unique opportunity to examine in English, textual materials from a revolutionary society such as those described by Freire.

From the current literature, it appears that not much has been written examining the educational programmes of the PRG in revolutionary Grenada. However, a few articles have surfaced and one book by Chris Searle: Words Unchained: Language and Revolution in Grenada, 1984b. Charles Lynch, writing in The Black Scholar (1981) documents a brief visit to Grenada in July, 1980. His article provides a short description of the process of revolution in the country, some of the historical and economic context, background on the formation of the New Jewel Movement, and then provides a valuable introduction to the educational programme of the PRG. Lynch cautiously states: "It is too early to evaluate the success of Grenada's transformation of the educational system and curriculum" (p. 23). For all educational researchers interested in this topic, the evaluation is sorely needed, the glowing descriptions of the wonderful changes Grenada was implementing clash with the historic facts of a

leadership split, a bloody execution of much of the PRG, and the almost immediate invasion of the tiny island by the U.S. and Caribbean forces, seemingly ending every trace of revolutionary change.

A more recently written article with the startling title: "Education or Death: Discovering the Meaning of Education in a Revolutionary Society" (1984) describes a later visit to Grenada in March, 1982 by Brent Harold, an educator. Glibly presenting his perceptions of the progress of educational change in Grenada, he identifies some extraordinary features of the educational context:

> In Grenada, while there are still places called schools, and a Ministry of Education, this dichotomy between education and the rest of public life has broken down; it is simply not part of one's experience. There, everything looks like education--or like propaganda, depending upon one's perspective. (1984:30)

Although his article is brief, it raises some doubts about the programmes which have elsewhere been described so positively. He concludes, that by talking with ordinary Grenadian people during his trip and hearing their confidentially expressed reservations about the revolution: "There is no question that our original impression of the universal success of the Revo [Revolution] was challenged" (p. 32).

Harold, an American, concludes the article with a post script, starkly condemning the American Marines' invasion of

Grenada. Sadly, he concludes that "The Grenada that was alive when we were there only 18 months ago is less knowable than ever, obliterated not only by the invasion itself, but by the very images [T.V. newsclips of the invasion, of island life, of Grenadians welcoming the Marines] that seem to bring it close" (p. 33). "Our 1982 experience in Grenada suggests that the logic of socialist development for the island in a largely hostile world environment had only partially taken root" (p. 33).

Harold makes two very important points here: the difficulty of analysis of the revolutionary programmes with the advent of invasion, and the need to evaluate and understand what happened in that educational realm. What led the Grenadian people to so quickly discard that which seemed to be dramatically emancipatory for them?

The data collected during the two visits to Grenada and presented in this study will help to build a record of the thwarted Grenadian revolution, so it can be studied and analyzed and hopefully will provide examples for other countries engaged in a struggle for emancipation.

This study builds upon one conducted by Wycherly Gumbs (1982): Social and Educational Change in a Revolutionary Society: Grenada 1930-1980, which again is limited to an exploration of only the early programmes of the revolution. Gumbs' work is a most important asset to this study, for it examines the educational programmes in the social movements.

Gumbs observes: "Not only has education [in revolutionary Grenada] been democratized, it has become the vehicle for instilling the values of the revolutionary government and aiding in the transformation of the productive capacity of the country" (p. 257).

Methodology

The data for this study were collected in several ways: from my own field studies, from analyses of Grenadian curricular resources and media reports, and from articles that discuss pertinent issues directly related to Grenada. By direct observation on the small island of Grenada, I hoped to be able to ascertain from the context of the environment what were some of the fundamental curricular problems viewed by the New Jewel Movement before and after the revolutionary take over.

During the process of gathering data for this study, I visited Grenada twice: October, 1981 to January, 1982 and August, 1982. Initially I had planned to visit Grenada in preparation for a Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) scholarship; the research was preliminary to a project for which I hoped to receive funding. Unfortunately, the two years that I applied for funding from CIDA, my applications were unsuccessful. By October, 1983, the invasion of Grenada

prevented me from researching the topic any further. The four months that I spent in Grenada and the information that I attained at that time are the basis of this study. The time that I spent there seemed sufficient to get a glimpse of the changes that were occurring, and provided me, the opportunity for interaction with Grenadians from a variety of educational settings to establish a personal experiential basis for curricular reflections.

Overview of Activities in Grenada

From October 4, 1981 to January 9, 1982, I tried to develop an understanding of the educational programmes in Grenada and of the political, cultural, and economic (especially the agrarian) bases of the country. My initial contacts were of a very practical nature. I worked on the Norman Antoine Cooperative Farm with thirteen other members and about a half dozen other Danish volunteers. We cleared and burned brush, broke land, picked roots, prepared seed beds, sowed various vegetable, fruit, and tree crops, harvested coconut and cocoa, started an irrigation project, and did a little educational work about tropical agriculture. Through observation and discussion with the Grenadian workers, I was able to begin to understand their language, their concerns, and their perception of being in a revolutionary society.

Guiding the cooperative farm project were officers from the People's Revolutionary Government National Cooperative Development Agency (NACDA). These people facilitated my observation of their ongoing educational and development work by touring me to various other cooperative societies, allowing me to observe and participate in a seminar which generally introduced the cooperative movement to a National Youth Organisation group, and by attending a bookkeeping class offered to a construction cooperative society. In August, 1982, I worked with a NACDA official in the preparation of a slide-tape presentation of their agency.

My inital contacts with the school system preceeded my arrival through correspondence with a tutor at the National In-Service Teacher Education Programme (NISTEP) and with an educational librarian at the Curriculum Resources Library. They directed me to visit the Centre for Popular Education (CPE) and the Community School Day Programme (CSDP). At CPE I met with Didacus Jules, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, who eventually provided me with permission to visit four schools. He also recommended that I meet with the Agricultural Science consultant for the Ministry of Education, Cde. W. Jones. I was asked to account for my time spent in Grenada with Cde. Jules before leaving the island in January.

I eventually contacted Sharon Neckles, an educator working with CSDP, and she was able to place me for four or

five weeks as a volunteer teacher in St. Louis R.C. Girls' School in St. George's. The duties were for one full day of teaching per week in Drama working with three classes. The end result was the production of a dramatic performance that the whole school attended.

The schools in which I observed and the teachers I met with were: St. Paul's Government School, Headmistress, Mrs. Pauline Waldron; St. Patrick's Anglican School, Principal, Mr. Robinson, teacher, Miss MacIntosh; St. Patrick's R.C. School, Principal, Mr. Swan, Agricultural Teacher, Cde. David; Bernadette Bailey Secondary School, Principal, Mr. Harris; Grenada Boy's Secondary School, Principal, Mr. V. Ashby, and science teacher, Mrs. E. Henry; MacDonald College, agricultural teacher, Mr. Adams.

For most of the visits to schools, I organized and arranged transportation myself, not an easy task considering the irratic bus and telephone systems. I tried to interview a few teachers, talk with the principal about how the school was organized, observe classes while they were being instructed, and inspect any agricultural science projects. I was particularly interested in obtaining copies of any syllabi or curricula that were being used.

Through the assistance of the agricultural science consultant for the Ministry of Education, Cde. W. Jones, I became familiar with the Ministry of Agriculture, their extension division, the Agricultural Training School at

Mirabeau, various plant propagation sites, and the United Nations financed soil and water conservation project, Mardigras. I was also asked to attend the Agricultural Science teachers' workshop held at Mirabeau in August, 1982.

So that I would be able to better understand the various projects and institutions which were launched or taken over by the PRG, I visited the following: Free West Indian newspaper office, Radio Free Grenada broadcast station, the public library, Ministry of Youth and Culture, Women's Desk, International Airport site, Food Production Laboratory, Productive Farmer's Union offices, as well as quite a few cooperative enterprises sponsored by NACDA.

Every time a government-sponsored public meeting or rally was held, I made every effort to attend. Therefore, I was able to participate in the Women's Rally, Che Guevera Rally, Bloody Sunday Rally, National Emulation Night for Educators; I was able to hear the Prime Minister's speech at the closing of the Solidarity Conference; and I attended a socialism class conducted in St. George's. I was not able to locate nor attend the Parish or Zonal council meetings.

Cultural activities sponsored by PRG-supported organizations were also attended. They were: the National Youth Organisation's Cult-O-Congress; a play performed by National Women's Organisation members, We Cocoa; five films in a Cuban Film Festival; and several rehearsals of a National Youth Organisation theatre group.

I also tried to become familiar with other activities or institutions which were not necessarily affected by government action. One of these was the Carnival which took place in August, 1982; others were boxing and netball sports competitions as well as two Kung Fu movies at a cinema in Grenville. I was privileged to be a guest of Grenadian worker or agricultural families in the communities of Bellevue, Victoria, Concord, Fontenoy, and Carriacou.

Critical Ethnography

Having experienced the milieu of Grenada, both inside and outside of the schools, a broad discussion of the perspectives on Grenadian curricular changes was facilitated. The research methodology I employed included an eclectic array of participatory modes: direct observation; journal writing; interviews; note-taking; school visits (to schools designated by the Ministry of Education); tours of facilities; attendance at functions such as political meetings, rallies, and youth group meetings. These fit the category described by Vandera Masemann as "critical ethnography" and are encouraged by her to be used in comparative education (1982:13).

From Ms. Masemann's article, critical ethnography is understood to be participant observation of a situation with "an attempt to understand the culture and symbolic life of

the actors involved," and, to carry this observation into the realm of critical interpretation and "not necessarily limiting the analysis to the actors's perceptions of their situation" (1982:13). Masemann's direction continues: "It should be possible to ground theoretical perspectives on such problems [impact of hegemonic structure, aid, elite position; curricular diffusion; cultural reproduction] in ethnographic studies of educational innovation (or conservatism)" (1982:13). She adds: "In general, all forms of penetration of dominant ideology or imported innovative 'rationality' could be studied in a comparative sense" (1982:14).

Just before ending this section on methodology, a few points should be made about why other research approaches were not taken. Certainly, a survey approach would have provided a body of statistical information from which certain conclusions could have been drawn. I had grave concerns about entering an entirely new society or community to conduct survey research. First of all, I felt that the instruments used in the research could have grossly oversimplified the complexity of the Grenadian educational setting, mostly because of my own unfamiliarity and inexperience with that educational context. Secondly, I was concerned that the forced choice format of a survey and the individualized responses extracted by a survey, would reduce the richness of the information that I was seeking. Thirdly, I felt that the questions that I would be asking would have

revealed more about my orientation toward education than they would have disclosed information about the Grenadian context. Therefore, I approached Grenada trying to find out what questions to ask, rather than coming with a set of surveys to be ~~completed.~~ Fortunately, I was encouraged to proceed with this intent, and overall, was able to gain a broad overview of the educational context during that most interesting time in Grenadian history.

The critical ethnographic data that was collected is included in Chapter III, IV, and V. They provide a valuable context from which to discuss the curricular texts and other documents about Grenadian educational innovation.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF GRENADA

Grenada is a very small but beautiful country, basking in the azure waters of the Caribbean sea with a mere 133 square miles of surface area and a small population of 110,000 people. As a country, Grenada is made up of three islands: one large one, Grenada; and two small ones, Carriacou and Petite Martinique. Grenada is an economically poor nation with a gross domestic product in 1979 of merely $460.00 (U.S.) per capita (Grenada Central Statistical Office, 1980). It has suffered a long colonial legacy and was the site of African slave labour during the 18th and 19th centuries. In spite of its size, Grenada has quite a volume of research and records of its development going back to the mid-1400's. This chapter will outline some of the background information pertinent to this study.

Five aspects have been identified as having significant impact on the Grenada of today: historical, cultural, political, economic and sociological. The following will include discussion of each of these aspects and will bring forth information of significance to the educational context being discussed.

The Evolution of a Plantation Society

Amerindian Presence in Grenada

Pre-colombian Grenada was populated by Ciboney, Arawak, and then Callinagos (today called Carib) peoples from South America. Evidence of the Arawaks can still be seen in the form of ceramic remains and petroglyphs cut into the rocks along the northern rivers of Grenada. Caribs were excellent fishing people; with their expertise on the seas and aggressive nature, they spread throughout all of the Antilles Archipelago. Many thousands of Caribs lived on the more northerly islands of St. Vincent and Dominica, much larger populations than were on Grenada.

The Carib ability to develop a striking force and to besiege and harass foreigners prevented colonial conquest of Grenada for quite some time. Eventually the French, led by Monsieur Du Parquet the Governor of Martinique, did conquer and settle Grenada, but serious conflict persisted between the two groups until most all of the Caribs on the island were killed. Today, there are still a few Grenadians who are said to be of Carib descent living at the north end of the island. The French genocide of the Grenadian Caribs is a part of the island's history that every visitor becomes acquainted with. It was at the very north tip of the island that the Caribs chose to plunge from "Leaper's Hill" to their

deaths in the sea, rather than face slaughter at the hands of the surrounding French forces.

Early Colonization of Grenada

French adventurers were not the first nor the only colonists on Grenada. It was the Spanish who initially sighted the island during Columbus' third voyage (1498). The British were the first to attempt colonization in the early 1600's, but quickly abandoned the effort due to harassment by the Caribs. Then came the French, determined to settle the island, and willing to go to any measure to meet their goal. Around the 1660's, the island became the property of the French West India Company, and was annexed by the French crown.

Wars and disruption beyond the West Indies had a dramatic impact on events there. During the Seven Years War, Grenada was captured by the British and eventually ceded to them by the French through the Treaty of Paris (1763). During the war of American Independence, the French temporarily regained control of the island (1779) for four and a half years. In time, the Treaty of Versailles (1783) handed Grenada back to the British. Even the rumblings of the French revolution were felt in the West Indies. Slave revolts and rebellions were frequent at that time, as will be mentioned later. All in all, much to the chagrin of the

British, French language and the Roman Catholic religion became quite firmly entrenched in the Grenadian community. Later the British became obsessed with trying to overcome these cultural roots.

Very early settlement brought many poor white Europeans to the Caribbean as either indentured workers, convicts sentenced to penal colonies, or political and religious non-conformists. This system of white servitude to the very early plantations did not last; as a labour force it was too small, it was too expensive to transport, and it was subject to high expectations of land after indentureship ended. By the late 17th century, both Britain and France were experiencing a great mercantile expansion which required tremendous amounts of raw agricultural products from the beginning colonial plantations. Slaves from Africa were the people who provided the vast labour pool needed for the growing plantation economy. By 1779, Grenada's slave population was 35,000 people working on about 125 estates (Brizan, 1984:86,93).

The early plantation settlements on the island produced sugar, cotton, tobacco, and indigo for the European markets. Before long, sugar production was greatly expanded. With this came deplorable labour conditions for the slave labourers and fabulous profits for the plantation owners. By 1764, small, mountainous Grenada--not as endowed as the other islands with flat, fertile plains--was the "leading coffee,

cotton, sugar and cacao producer in the Windward Islands" (Brizan, 1984:38).

The Slave Trade

The mother countries, Britain and France, realized tremendous gains from the infamous triangulation trade of the 18th and 19th centuries that had Grenada, and its now majority black population, so completely ensnared. They experienced expansion in commerce, ship building, cotton industries, sugar refineries, rum distilleries, and metalurgical industries. The EPICA Task Force report (1982) succinctly explains this business:

> The slave trade was just one part of a vigorous three-sided trade known as the triangular trade. The triangle began when slave ships left Europe loaded with cheap manufactured goods and sailed to Africa, where the goods were exchanged for slaves. The slave ships then sailed across the Atlantic - the "Middle Passage" and traded their human cargo to the plantation owners for colonial produce such as sugar and tobacco. The last leg of the triangle was the return journey to the metropolitan country, where the colonial products were processed for export. (p. 12)

French Influences

Early French colonization brought with it various orders of monks--the Dominicans, Jesuits, and Capuchins. They firmly established Roman Catholicism on the island.

It was to be a lasting influence. Statistics published in Grenada (1980) reported that 64% of the population still declared themselves to be Roman Catholic (Grenada Central Statistical Office). This pervasiveness continued despite many efforts by the British in the late 1700's and early 1800's to break Catholic control. For a time, only Anglican churches were accepted and some of the Catholic churches were taken over. Eventually, this religious feud was settled; by the mid-1800's all discriminatory legislation against Catholicism was removed.

Other influences from the French period are still evident today on Grenada. Many of the small towns and villages retain their French names, for example, Gouyave and Sauteurs. The French-based vernacular, patois, also had a lasting quality. Beverly Steele mentions that patois was "widely spoken in rural Grenada up to thirty years ago;" unfortunately, today it is hardly evident (Steele, 1974a:12).

The Fedon Rebellion

Although the population in the late 1700's in Grenada consisted of a small, dominating British elite, with the French colonists as second class citizens, and a majority of enslaved, black people (roughly 24,000), there was a significant number of free coloureds, many of whom were

landlords. At that time they numbered over a thousand. Their impact upon the history of the island was tremendous, as will be described.

Conflict between the French and the English in Grenada broke out in 1795 led by a free coloured Grenadian, Julien Fedon. Fedon sought to end British rule on Grenada, to end slavery, and to make Grenada part of the new French Republic. This rebellion was one of a wave that swept the coloured and slave populations in the Caribbean. Brizan (1984) links these movements with the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity pronounced during the French Revolution. Although it was ultimately crushed, the rebellion lasted for over 15 months with devastating effects upon the plantations and estates. The rebellion had gained wide support from slaves who abandoned the plantations, in time returning to destroy them. The death toll was large. At that time one quarter of the black population, 7000 slaves, died. To try to regain control, the British called in reinforcements from both the British West Indies and from England. They also, for the first time, used blacks to control other blacks, by establishing a "Corps of Loyal Black Rangers."

The Grenadian Plantation System

The plantation system remained remarkably similar

despite the changes in the ruling elite during the 17th and 18th centuries. Slave labour, so essential to the whole system, was controlled by a rigid and racist class system, an increasingly vigilant police system (essentially a militia), an extensive code of slave laws with extremely stiff penalties, and the domination of the upper class, the plantocracy, over the whole political and judicial system. The plantocracy consisted of: white planters, big merchants, top civil servants, military officers, and ministers of the Church of England (Anglican Church).

Brizan (1984) describes the plantation as a total institution: one that "organized groups with well defined boundaries and a marked hierarchical structure approaching an internal caste system" (p. 84).

The effect of this rigid, harsh environment, according to Brizan, was to break-in the new slaves, making them lose their African identity and create within themselves a negative stereotyped image. He states:

> The distinctive African identity gave place to plantation-type personalities: low self-esteem, self-hatred, inferiority complex, no cultural pride, contempt for others of one's kind, subservience, rejection of negroid physical features, and giving them the epithet of "ugly." The plantation with its physical and psycological violence recreated the African in its own image. (p. 85)

It is difficult to know if the incoming blacks had a "distinctive African identity" as Brizan describes.

Grenada's African people originated from various parts of West Africa. Brizan's description does reveal the severe oppression of people enslaved on the plantation. Despite the severe disorientation, the black population did maintain some very important cultural roots that are often described in the literature (Brizan, 1984; EPICA Task Force, 1982; Steele, 1974b).

African Cultural Remnants

One carry over of African culture was obeah--witchcraft practice. Others were African languages (Yoruba, Ibo, and Coromanti) that blended with French into the commonly spoken patois. Patois was gradually replaced by an English-influenced vernacular. Another cultural remnant mentioned is "maroons": cooperative efforts by the slaves springing from their African heritage. Maroons are described in two ways in the literature: a) as merely endeavours to work together to build a house, harvest a crop or some other job requiring extra hands and often ending with a social event such as a traditional dance (EPICA Task Force, 1982:14); or b) as an endeavour that was part of slave resistance to plantation control. Brizan (1984) and Braithwaite (in Searle, 1981) describe maroons as groups of run-away slaves, located in hidden communities in isolated mountainous areas of Grenada. Brizan mentions

the 1765 Governor of Grenada, Robert Melville's description of the activities of the "maroons" who subsisted by "depredations on cattle and provision grounds of the neighbouring estates" (1984:96). The resistance actions of run away slaves both in Jamaica and Surinam are described as "maroon movements." The plantocracy tried several times to eliminate the maroons--with limited success. Maroons continued as a resistance action until emancipation (1830's) despite the severe punishment that was administered.

African religious, linguistic, and artistic influences were reinforced in many communities later in Grenada's history by an influx of over 1000 free Africans from Yorubaland. This occurred after emancipation (Steele, 1974a:12-3).

Demise of the Plantation System

Collapse of the Sugar Industry

By the late 18th century, Grenada's choice export position fell. Grenadian sugar became far more expensive to produce than sugar from other regions which had flat terrain ideal for large plantations. Cheaper sugar was beginning to flood into Britain from the East Indies. Humanitarians in Britain were finally getting some

attention, and an anti-slavery public opinion was beginning to form. The Colonial office was taking action and was instituting reform of the slave system. Grenada certainly felt the impact of these changes. Sugar plantations closed down. Brizan (1984) states that by 1824, 86 of Grenada's 342 estates were "in bush and pasture" (p. 102). By the mid-1830's, even the best sugar estates were just barely pulling through. This agricultural shift was lasting; sugar has never regained economic significance in Grenada. When I visited the island, only occasionally could a sugar cane field be found; bananas, nutmeg, and cocoa were far more prevalent.

Reform of Slavery

By 1825 Grenadian legislation enacted directives from Britain for reform of the oppressive laws under which slavery had endured in Grenada. At first these reforms were mere concessions which were not necessarily carried into practice; the law enforcers were slave owners, involved with sugar estates. They became extremely paranoid, should their cheap labour pool vanish. Britain was disappointed that only half-way measures were being taken in reform. According to Brizan (1984) "Grenada's planters were hostile to the intentions of the British government. At a public meeting of planters held on 29

June 1831, the chairman advised the colonists to resist to the utmost of their power any interference with, or injury to, their property" (p. 112). The planters considered secession from Britain.

The Emancipation Act

In the eyes of blacks, Grenada's emancipation act, passed in 1834, was fundamentally no different from slavery for it introduced a repressive apprenticeship system. Magistrates supervised the system and the police enforced it, gruesomely prepared with the equipment of slavery times: gaols, cages, stocks, treadmills, and work gangs. Apprentice allowances and work conditions were hardly better than before. If apprentices were found beyond the plantation or parish to which they were attached, they would be declared vagabonds or vagrants and severely punished. Grenada's plantocracy, however, received financial compensation from the British government--a total of 616,255 pounds--for the 'loss' of their nearly 24,000 slaves.

Objections to this still repressive system grew in Britain through the lobbying campaigns of groups such as the Anti-Slavery Society. Eventually the British parliament brought about its end (1838).

Apprenticeship was followed by a labour system with

four types of workers: (a) tenants-at-will who worked on estates; (b) peasants who owned or rented small plots of land; (c) metayers who share-cropped, contributing their labour but using estate land, machines, stock, and carts; and (d) petty traders and artisans.

Brizan (1984) notes that following emancipation, "ownership of land, no matter how little, became the most important criterion of freedom to the Grenadian" (p. 129).

Indentured Labour

Plantation owners had been concerned about their source of cheap labour since 1807 when Britain ended its involvement with the slave trade. They feared every action which might loosen the blacks from their tied condition on the estates. The apprenticeship programme, antecedent to emancipation, did allow some alternatives for blacks. Only with great reluctance did freed blacks consider wage-labouring on estates. The estate owners searched world-wide for other labourers. It resulted in other waves of immigration to the island. In the mid-1800's about 1000 freed Africans were apprenticed on Grenada. A little later, some destitute Portuguese from Maderia and others from Malta tried indentured labour, but with limited success. In time, the plantocracy began a programme of importing indentured East Indian workers, bringing

thousands to Grenada over the next 25 years. Two thirds of these workers decided to remain in Grenada after their terms had finished, taking up farming on small plots or becoming involved with small scale merchandising.

Schooling Provision - 19th Century

Schools for Black Children

The ten or so schools in Grenada prior to the early 1800's were exclusively for the children of the plantocracy. Finally, in 1824, a school for free coloured children was established, the Central School of St. George's. Its meagre provison is described by Brizan (1984) "At first the curriculum consisted of religious instruction and prayers. Reading, writing, spelling, ciphering and repeating arithemtic [sic] tables were introduced later" (p. 147).

Emancipation brought attention from churches (Church of England, Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Presbyterian) to the need for some education for all children. The Church of England took the greatest role. Schools were set up in a few parishes and twelve estates are reported to have established schools for the children of their apprentices (Brizan, 1984:148).

The Negro Education Fund

As part of their 1833 Emancipation Act, the British allocated some funding to go toward the education of freed persons of the 17 British Territories in the Caribbean. It was called the Negro Education Fund. As a first allocation of a ten year grant proposal, in 1835 Grenada received 800 pounds from the fund for schools. The religious denominations were authorized to operate schools utilizing this fund and they supplemented it with their own donations. As a result, by 1838 there were nine Anglican public schools (day and Sunday), two Methodist, and one Roman Catholic school operating in Grenada. No matter how dramatic this change sounds, still only 10% of children attended schools.

The La Trobe Commission

After the fund had been set up for two years, the British government sent out Charles La Trobe, an inspector of schools, to investigate the developments which had taken place in education in the West Indies as a result of the grant for Negro education.

La Trobe's reported "the absence of a system which combined the practical lessons of industry - agricultural work, manual labour and industrial skills - with the

culture of the mind and that ex-slaves abhorred estate work while the planters cherished it for them" (Brizan, 1984:152).

Brizan (1984) summarizes: "Education continued to be conceived of in Grenada as a conditioning process aimed at civilizing the children of the transplanted Africans, making them appendages of Anglo-Saxon culture, and teaching them their proper place in the social hierarchy" (p. 152).

Comments from the Lieutenant Governor of Grenada, Keate, described two educational problems: a) the prevalence of patois as the spoken language and b) the rivalry of the four religious sects for domination in the community. He advocated use of text books not the Bible for instruction and the establishment of a non-denominational teacher training facility as well as a grammar, or secondary school, for the middle and upper class children.

By 1857 an Education Act was drawn up. It made provision for many of Keate's recommendations. In 1858, when reporting on the condition of Grenadian schools, the schools inspector stated that most children were learning no arithmetic, could barely read, attended dilapitated schools with no desks, and were taught by undervalued teachers who should have given up in dispair.

There were secondary schools for about 150 middle and upper class school children, who could afford the fees,

available by the turn of the century. At that time 37 primary schools existed, but only 25% of children attended schools. Generally, the primary school provision was completely inadequate, and poor children had no access to secondary school education.

Grenada as a Crown Colony

After Grenada was returned to Britain, a Legislative Council and Assembly was established under the direction of a Lieutenant-Governor. At that time, only white adult males, Protestant, who had sizeable landownings (at least 50 acres), were allowed to be candidates for elected office. By 1833, in spite of emancipation, the government was semi-representational; blacks would not fully receive the vote until 1950. Grenada was under a common administration with Tobago, Barbados, and St. Vincent. The government had a Lieutenant-Governor, an Executive Council of nine, and twenty-six members in a House of Assembly. The council advised the Governor, reviewed all the Acts that had been passed by the Assemblies and sat as a court of appeal. The House of Assembly acted like the House of Commons. Its main tasks were: taxation, executive duties, and communicating with Britain. Only the white and coloured plantocracy were members or as Brizan (1984) states: "a narrow group of attorneys and planters" (p.

200). Voting privileges were just as restrictive; only adult males who owned 10 acres of land and farming five of them (or some equivalent) were allowed to vote. The tragic aspect to this type of government was that it did not take any measures to improve the condition of the poor black labourers. They remained without any voice in the government for some time to come.

By the 1860's, blacks on other Caribbean islands were in revolt against the desparate conditions the planters imposed upon them. This led to a clamp down on the governing of Grenada; the plantocracy in the Assembly voted to return it to Crown Colony status. No elections were held, all the Legislative Council and Assembly members were appointed by the Governor. The country waxed and waned under the influence of the various Governors placed by the British government to rule Grenada. Some alternative governing proposals were presented, such as the proposal to form a British West Indies (Leeward Islands) Federation. However, these suggestions were soundly defeated.

Parochial Boards

In 1886, parochial boards were established in each of the six parishes of the country in an attempt to provide local self-government. Only half of the board members were elected by ratepayers but they did provide some local

representation in decision making. They became a lasting feature and although they changed in jurisdiction and at times became fully elected, they basically remained intact until 1933. Brizan (1984) describes their powers: "levying and disbursement of local rates, the control and management of the town, the upkeep of the bye-ways, and other purely local matters" (p. 213).

The Emerging 'Coloured' Middle Class

By the mid and late 1800's, the black and coloured people of Grenada had a small but significant number of educated people who formed a middle class. They became teachers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, and civil servants. They felt the need to have their voice represented in the governing of Grenada. Often they were better educated than the planters who still firmly held the reigns of power (EPICA Task Force, 1982). These coloured people became more vocal in their opposition. Especially important was their establishment of a dissenting voice in the local Grenadian press.

Marryshow

One important middle class black in the early 1900's was Marryshow, who became a prominent Grenadian journalist.

Marryshow was a monarchist who tried to promote the ideas of West Indian federation. His articles attracted much British attention and led to an investigation of the deplorable living and working conditions of the Grenadian peasants. This investigation was the Woods Commission; it proposed several changes, especially the need for "representative" government for all Grenadians. These suggestions were implemented in Grenada's new constitution of 1925. Unfortunately, because the Governor maintained the right to veto any bills passed by the Legislative Council, and because still only 3.25% of the population was eligible to vote, the poor in Grenada did not gain access to their political rights with the changes suggested by the Woods Commission (EPICA Task Force, 1982).

Grenada's Peasantry

Peasantry here refers to small farmers, tenants-at-will, and other poor people who worked the land on plots smaller than 10 acres. Brizan (1984) describes Grenada's peasantry as:

> One of the largest [peasantries] in the Caribbean relative to size; young; predominantly Black; largely illiterate. Generally there was no rigid sexual division of labour, rural women performing similar agricultural activities to men in addition to their domestic chores. (p. 227)

The condition of the peasantry was deplorable during the late 1800's, and continues in many ways still to be so, today. It is very important to recognize here that the peasants were the ones who were the unsung saviours of the Grenadian economy as the sugar economy dwindled. EPICA Task Force (1982) states:

> It was the former slaves, cultivating their small mountain plots, who led the process of rehabilitating Grenada's economy with tree crops....The planters used the metayer system to transfer their unprofitable sugar estates to cocoa production. Labourers intercropped cocoa and food crops and turned over the bearing cocoa lands to the owners when the trees matured. (p. 24)

Brizan (1984) also recognizes the importance of the peasants to the development of Grenada. He states:

> The peasantry had, in some respects, initiated the part-conversion of the plantation economy into pre-modern communities by bringing into existence villages and markets, causing schools and hospitals to be built and initiating the local co-operative movement. By 1930, even though politically impotent and economically weak, they were a force to be reckoned with. (p. 229)

Conditions which were already very bad, rapidly worsened as the emancipated slaves became debt peons (Brizan, 1984). The several attempts at land resettlement that were made did not provide any significant economic nor political shifts to change the peasants' condition. Brizan (1984) mentions two other major areas of exploitation of the peasants: a) their wages were too low, b) the prices

that their products received on the international market were too low. He states:

> Evidence [from a 1937 Committee investigating peasant wages and a 1939 West India Royal Commission] revealed that the daily wage for an estate labourer in 1935 was still 10d or 1/- as it had been in 1840 (two years after Emancipation). (p. 235)

The Grenadian poor needed leadership. Marryshow provided some voice for the Grenadian poor, and actually started a "Grenadian Workingmen and Women Association" which began to grant sick benefits and a cooperative bank for small loans (EPICA Task Force, 1982). However, this organization failed to become either a trade union or an enduring political party. It was not without its struggles, for it lead the first mass protest "against imperial policy" in Grenada (EPICA Task Force, 1982:29).

Two important cooperative movements which directly involved the peasants emerged during the 1940's and 1950's in Grenada. They were the Grenadian Cooperative Nutmeg Association and the Grenada Sugar Factory. In both these associations, the peasant members were definitely in the majority, but their collective production did not come close to that of the few large landowner members who controlled the cooperative boards and often the prices. This can be seen by examining Brizan's (1984) revelation that in 1936-1945, peasant farmers produced 11% of the

sugar cane processed in the Grenada Sugar Factory but received just 9% of the payments. These inequities were also carried to the taxation system for the peasants were still paying the major portion of the income tax in Grenada, and were receiving the smallest payments for their crops. Often the large estate owners paid almost no income tax.

Trade Unions and the Grenadian Peasants

The emergence of trade unions began to alter, somewhat, the centuries of suffering by the peasants of Grenada. Although trade unions were active in Grenada prior to the 1950's, the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union (GMMWU) rocketed into existence in 1950, led by E.M. Gairy and gaining widespread support from the poor Grenadians who had for so long remained without any sense of direction or support in improving their impoverished lives.

Grenadian Education in the Twentieth Century

In the beginning of the 20th century, Grenada's educational system continued along the same vein as it had in the 19th century. Although 1911 statistics indicate that about half of the 5-15 age group were on the school

roll, only a quarter of the school aged children would actually attend on a regular basis. By 1931 this had risen to 66% and 41% respectively (Brizan, 1984:283). Schooling provision was still dominated by churches: in the 1930's about 50% of the primary children attended Roman Catholic schools, 25% attended Anglican schools, and the final 25% attended government schools. In 1920 a Compulsory Education Ordinance was passed in the legislature. For the first three decades of 1900, the government provided roughly one pound Sterling per year to the education of each Grenadian child.

Grenadian education can best be understood within the interactive relationship between the general British colonial policy and the Caribbean. Britain's control over Grenada was maintained by either a Governor or a Lieutenant Governor, until associated statehood and then independence was granted in 1974. One of the most dramatic areas of British colonial influence was within the schools. Royal Readers of British origin were used in primary schools until the mid-1930's. Having been used for over fifty years to teach Grenadian children to read, they were replaced by a West Indian Reader. The whole school system was very exam oriented. In the 1920's, a portion of the teacher's salary was paid only when certain proportions of students received over 90% pass rate on the three R's, and other similar conditions (Brizan, 1984). Often primary

teachers were poorly trained; relying on strict discipline and rote response in their methodology.

Brizan provides important insights into the role of education, as perceived by the Grenadian people in the 1930's:

> Education was seen as one of the three vehicles for vertical class mobility; in order of priority these were: colour and Caucasian features, income and wealth, and, lastly, education. (p. 286)

However, Brizan (1984) condemns the content of the education taught: "For the next 25 years, [until 1955] education continued to foster elitism and to glorify the ideals, values and traditions of upper- and middle-class Grenadian society" (p. 286). The truth of this statement is understood when realizing that only 2% of primary students reached the secondary schools in the 1930's and 40's. None-the-less, the students who were in the secondary schools performed well on the external exams "set and graded by the Examination Syndicates in the Universities of London and Cambridge" (Brizan, 1984:289). The focus on certification through examination has been a lasting feature of the Grenadian school system; the British General Certificate of Education (GCE) O and A Level exams were introduced in 1964, and were still used to culminate secondary schooling in Grenada when I visited the island in 1981-2.

No matter how well students performed in the secondary schools, Grenada's primary schools were dismal places, and to a great extent remain so today. Note Brizan's (1984) description of the teaching situation:

> In 1939 these were 29 class I headteachers, 20 class II and 4 class III, assisted by 100 assistant teachers of whom most were untrained and used the whip as their greatest teaching aid. There were also 146 pupil teachers and 30 monitors, the majority of whom were largely from Classes VII and VIII and had to write four local examinations; 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th year--to become certificated; but this did not mean they had received teacher-training. An average class consisted of 50-60 children, presenting a formidable task for untrained teachers, and leading to the destruction of any inclination to learn for the majority of students, with school representing a life of torture. (p. 290-1)

The Colonial Development and Welfare organization (CDW) based in Britain, did make some improvements in Grenadian education following World War II. The action they took was based upon recommendations by the Hammond Report (mid-1940's). Provision was made for a few teachers to gain training in Barbados and Trinidad, for extra pupil-teachers, and for a model school and farm at Grand Roy. Three hundred thousand pounds were spent on Grenada's educational system over five years, thereby strengthening the school infrastructure (Brizan, 1984). The 1950's and 1960's realized an expansion of secondary schooling provision for Grenadian students, and the establishment of Grenada's own teachers' college. Unfortunately, the

uncontrolled and unauthorized expenditure of Grenadian treasury funds from 1959-62 by the Minister of Finance, who after 1961 was E.M. Gairy (called Squandermania) and the stagnation of the economy in the 1970's greatly reduced the flow of funds to the schools, and they deteriorated considerably until the time of the People's Revolutionary Government.

The Leadership of E.M. Gairy

As the founder and leader of the Grenada Manual and Mental Workers' Union, and as a charismatic black Grenadian, E.M. Gairy's impact on the Grenadian poor was tremendous. In Gairy they found the voice to speak of their plight, to bring change to their destitute condition that for so long had been ignored. By 1951, the GMMWU had gained over 5000 members, mostly estate labourers and daily-paid government workers (Brizan, 1984:265). In the early 1950's, the GMMWU was embroiled in labour disputes which grew into violent displays and general strikes against the large estate owners. Gairy's encouragement and direct approach fueled the involvement of workers. He was seen by them as their hero and nicknamed "Uncle Gairy." In 1951, when the Governor, in an attempt to control the unrest, detained Gairy and his assistant, Herbert Blaize, imprisoning them on Carriacou, the workers refused to end their arson and looting until they were released. The

strikes did improve the lot of the worker. Beverley Steele (1974b) notes: "As a result of the strike....Wages were increased sometimes as much as thirty-three and a third per cent, and provision was made for paid leave" (p. 18).

The Grenada People's Party/Grenada United Labour Party

Gairy and the GMMWU had gained the support of the disaffected workers, and in short order turned this into political power by forming the Grenada People's Party (GPP). Unfortunately, according to Brizan (1984), they did not use their political power to "transform the mode of life and social relations of the labouring population and simultaneously create structural transformation in the archaic and inequitable relationship between the worker and the forces of production" (p. 255). A new Grenadian constitution of 1951 provided universal adult suffrage for all persons 21 years and over, as well as the removal of income and property qualifications for candidates at elections. The Governor still maintained considerable control.

In 1951, Gairy rode to electoral success on the tide of these changes and as a result of the GMMWU. His party, now called the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP), was overthrown in the 1957 elections. Gairy, because of interference with an opponent's political meeting, was

suspended from taking part in the electoral process for five years (1957-61). His party was re-elected in 1961, empowered as never before by the new constitution. Gairy gained the position of Minister of Finance in 1961 through a by-election, but the GULP's duration as the government was very short. It was dissolved in 1962 as a result of a "Commission of Enquiry into Public Expenditure in Grenada" (Brizan, 1984:274). Brizan notes that the main problem was Gairy's lack of scruples, "he was less interested in the welfare of the workers he represented than in exploiting their genuine grievances to satisfy his own selfish political aims and help him regain power" (p. 274). The EPICA Report notes that the good of Gairy's shaking of the planter rule and the new dynamism of the rural workers was offset by his "opportunism: his tendency to advance himself, not the struggle" (p. 39).

Gairy's misappropriation of public funds which led to the dissolution of the GULP government in 1962 was named "Squandermania" by the Grenadian people. But by 1967, the GULP was elected again, to remain in power for the next 12 years.

During the 1950's and '60's, the possibility of joining with other Caribbean countries preoccupied the Grenadian people. It was in 1958 that the short lived formation of the West-Indies Federation was initiated, an amalgamation of 10 Caribbean countries. By 1962 it had

fallen apart when Prime Minister Norman Manley, empowered by the decision of a referendum, withdrew Jamaica from the Federation. Grenada then considered forming a Unitary State with Trinidad. Throughout this whole time, Britain was loosening ties with Grenada: the constitutional ammendments of 1960, Associated Statehood in 1967, ending in full Independence in 1974.

Gairy's Dictatorship: 1967-79, the Source of Revolutionary Ferment

In 1967, Gairy and his party, GULP, regained power in Grenada, and retained it for the next twelve years. Brizan (1984) describes this time: "In these 12 years Gairy utterly disregarded the principles he had upheld in 1951, violated the very workers' rights he had campaigned for in 1951, and destroyed some of the people he fought for in that year" (p. 329). The atrocities of Gairy during that time are frequently described (Brizan, 1984; EPICA Task Force, 1982; Jacobs and Jacobs, 1980; Latin American Bureau, 1984; O'Shaughnessy, 1984; Payne, Sutton, and Thorndike, 1984; Thorndike, 1985).

Brizan (1984) enumerates the questionable actions of the Gairy government at this time. The following is a summary of the points he describes (pp. 329-348):

1. The withdrawl of licenced firearms from those opposed to

the government.

2. Acquisition of estate lands, mostly from government opponents, usually without payment, and most often not resulting in land redistribution.

3. The replacement of Grenada's producer cooperative boards with Gairy-appointed boards: the Grenada Cocoa Industry Board, the Banana Cooperative Society, the Grenada Cooperative Nutmeg Association, and the Nutmeg Board. (Maurice Bishop, soon to be a major opponent to Gairy's extremes, was the lawyer who fought the dissolution of these boards).

4. The intimidation of Grenada public servants who opposed the government.

5. The giving of "concessions and monopolies to certain businesses and other supporters...[which] ensured that the political wheels were continually greased" (p. 332).

6. The brutal beating of six leaders of the oppositional party the New Jewel Movement (NJM) on 18 Nov. 1973 and the repression and harassment of the NJM members and leadership in the months following this date. These acts of Gairy were investigated by the Duffus Commission which staunchly condemned the actions and recommended: changes to the police aides (called the Mongoose Gang), changes to the police force, removal of the police chief and certain magistrates, and an inquiry into the conduct of the Solicitor General.

7. The passing of the Newspaper Amendment Act which caused a dramatic increase in the amount (over twenty times as much) of the deposit needed by a newspaper to operate. (This was an attempt to close down the NJM oppositional paper, the New Jewel.)

8. The restriction of the use of public address systems by the opposition during the 1976 election campaign plus the complete ban of public address systems after 1977.

In the middle of this twelve year period of Gairy reign, Britain released Grenada from its colonial status in two steps: Associated Statehood and Independence (1974). Independence meant, amongst other things, that finally Grenada represented itself at the international level: the United Nations and the Organization of American States. Unfortunately, Gairy's personality quirks were what was offered to these bodies, not solid statements concerning the welfare of the Grenadian people. Jacobs and Jacobs (1980) describe his conduct: "At the United Nations, Gairy enhanced his reputation as an international buffoon by repeatedly calling upon that august body to set up an agency for 'psychic research' into Unidentified Flying Objects, what he called 'Ufology,' the Bermuda Triangle, and other psychic phenomena" (p. 109).

Gairy's extremes led the other Caribbean leaders to disassociate themselves from him. Gairy, wanting arms, was refused by Britain and turned to the Pinochet regime in

Chile (EPICA Task Force, 1982; Jacobs and Jacobs, 1980; O'Shaughnessy, 1984; Payne, Sutton, and Thorndike, 1984). Several of these authors mention that a couple of Gairy's "Grenada Defence Force" members were in Santiago, Chile for training. The Chilean military was described by O'Shaughnessy (1984) as a "force which had the most noisome reputation for brutality in South America" (p. 70).

On March 13, 1979, while Gairy was on one of his many trips to the United States, the New Jewel Movement led by Maurice Bishop, took power. The take over has always been lauded as a "bloodless coup" or a "peaceful revolution." The EPICA Report, 1982; the Latin American Bureau, 1984; and Payne, Sutton, and Thorndike, 1984 all state that the NJM leadership took this action because their lives were seriously endangered. However, O'Shaughnessy (1984), comments: "No one has ever shown that there was any truth in the allegation [of intent to murder the NJM leadership] against Gairy" (p. 78).

The Development of the New Jewel Movement

As Prime Minister Gairy's rule continued in the 1970's (he was elected for this term of office in 1967), conditions grew more desperate in Grenada. This was a result of the years of mismanagement and corruption under Gairy. Payne, Sutton and Thorndike (1984) describe Grenada

at this time:

> For its part, the economy, already dangerously weakened by several years of mismanagement, never recovered from the independence crisis and stagnated for the rest of the decade. By 1979, more than 16,000 people--approximately 50 per cent of the island's workforce--were without jobs, and even this official rate of unemployment disguised a 69 per cent rate for women and a devastating 80 per cent for young people under 25 years of age. The government's finances collapsed into chaos, the Treasury becoming virtually denuded of funds. The country's trade deficit rose to over EC$50 million thanks to a huge import bill and the national debt to some EC$60 million thanks to indiscriminate government borrowing. Capital aid flows and aid funds more or less dried up within a year of the winning of independence and, since population growth was not abated, per capita incomes fell in real terms by some 3 per cent per annum between 1974 and 1979. The prospect of starvation for many of the people was, in fact, only averted because of peasant subsistence agriculture.
>
> This appalling economic record was manifested in the steady decline of the country's basic infrastructure in such areas as roads, water and electricity supply, telephones, housing and health. Piped water supplies in rural areas often broke down due to lack of maintenance, in some instances remaining unrepaired for up to five years; no sheets, pillow cases or medicines--even aspirins--were to be found in the hospitals. The infant mortality rate climbed to 29.5 per 1,000 live births. School buildings collapsed and were abandoned and school books became non-existent. Functional illiteracy rose to 40 per cent. As one of the NJM leaders later put it, Grenada was in 'an unbelievable mess'. (p. 14)

The New Jewel Movement

In the late 60's, as the black power movement was dying out in the Caribbean, the conditions in Grenada were

ripe for the emergence of a force to oppose the autocratic rule Grenadians suffered under. Several individuals were involved with labour disputes and legal suits against the government; Kendrix Radix and Maurice Bishop were two of them. It was Maurice Bishop who emerged as the eventual leader of the movement, although he was just one notable person among many. Mostly these activist individuals were people originating from Grenada, select products of their restricted secondary school system, who had had the opportunity for study abroad. Many of them attended American or British universities, just at a time when radical politics were vibrant on every campus and the anti-Vietnam War movement was gaining strength. Maurice Bishop was no exception.

Maurice Bishop was born in Aruba, an oil-rich region of the Caribbean, of Grenadian parents who had followed a stream of Grenadians anxious to earn good wages in the oil-industry. During his youth, he returned to Grenada and was schooled at the Catholic Presentation College in St. George's, Grenada. He was noted for his intelligence and excellent public speaking. Just before he left for Britain, he was involved with the organizing of youth into a group called "The Assembly of Youth After Truth." As a law student in London from 1963 to 1966, he became involved with the West Indian Student's Society of London, and was the chairperson of that group in 1966. He was also

co-founder of a legal clinic for West Indian immigrants in the Notting Hill district of London. The Campaign against Racial Discrimination was another of his involvements.

The Caribbean was knotted with tension when Maurice Bishop returned in 1970. The popular protest in Trinidad caught Bishop's attention immediately. He contributed what he could by arranging for street demonstrations in support of the Trinidadian protest. Bishop was joined in the streets of St. George's by three hundred people. The Grenada United Labour Party government was not pleased with this new, radical leadership that called for "more jobs now." Premier Gairy clearly revealed the intention to repress opposition when he made a radio address where he said that he was "doubling the strength of our Police Force...getting in almost unlimited supplies of new and modern equipment...some of the toughest and roughest roughnecks have been recruited..." (quoted in EPICA Task Force, 1982:45). The EPICA Task Force mentions that the next civil strife that involved Maurice Bishop was a Nurses' strike in November 1970. Twenty-two nurses who were arrested as a result of their strike, were represented in court by a group of lawyers including Bishop and Kendrix Radix, whose popularity grew tremendously with the acquittal of the nurses.

Rat Island Meeting

In mid-November, 1970, Bishop joined with other socialist minded activists from the Caribbean on Rat Island, just off St. Lucia. Although over six authors describe the evolution of the New Jewel Movement, only Thorndike (1985) mentions this meeting. He states that "the agenda [of the Rat Island meeting] was to review the situation [of rebellion in the Caribbean] and the potentiality for socialism, and to discuss future strategy" (p. 24). He describes the meeting as "the first indication of regional action by intellectual socialists" (p. 23). The strategy is alluded by Thorndike to be a Soviet doctrine created in the late 1960's by the "eminent Soviet scholar R. Ulyanovsky" (p. 19). The doctrine was a three stage prescription to "non-capitalist development" that would provide a way for the small Caribbean islands, to reach socialism in their post-colonial societies but circumventing the evolutionary capitalist step described by Marx. The main points of this doctrine, as described by Thorndike (1985) will be mentioned later. Maurice Bishop's actions following this meeting were to implement the directives given: "to create a series of 'forums', or discussion groups, with associated newssheets of the same title, in as many territories as possible and with public involvement" (Thorndike, 1985:24).

Early Political Organizing

Jacobs and Jacobs (1980) describe the Forums Bishop established and his involvement with them:

> Yet, even before this event [the nurses' strike] Bishop had been closely associated with a group known as Forum, an organization that had been formed as a direct result of the Black Power unrest. The Forum group was actually formed in June 1970, and, as Bishop maintains, its main aim was to start a weekly newspaper as part of the foundation for building a political movement aimed at bringing change to Grenada. The Grenada Forum was only one of many such organizations throughout the Windward Islands at the time (including St. Vincent, and St. Lucia), and as such it formed part of the general trend towards radicalization of the young petty bourgeois intellectual elements within the region. (p. 75-6)

Jacobs and Jacobs (1980) continue, mentioning that the Forum folded by the end of 1970, to be followed by another political "radicalization" group called Movement for the Advancement of Community Effort (MACE). They state that it sought to bring about political change through "a mass based organization" (p. 76). Bishop and Radix were both leaders of MACE and saw it evolve into another political organization with the intent of seeking state power and "ultimately to transform the Westminster type state apparatus into one based on more popular control through assemblies of the people" (Jacobs and Jacobs, 1980:76). This organization was called Movement for the Assemblies of

Peoples (MAP). It was MAP that joined with the Joint Effort for Welfare, Education and Liberation (JEWEL) to form the New Jewel Movement in March of 1973.

JEWEL offered an important ability to Bishop and Radix, for it was a rural based organization that had proven during a 1972 incident concerning access to a popular beach that they could mobilize large numbers of Grenadians.

New Jewel Movement: Non-capitalist Development

Very shortly upon formation of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), its manifesto was released. Before examining this document, though, a brief look at the Soviet doctrine mentioned by Thorndike is in order. (For the NJM Manifesto, see New Jewel Movement, 1974.)

Maurice Bishop and the others who attended the Rat Island meeting were influenced by Marcus Garvey, C.L.R. James, and Walter Rodney. They had been exposed to racism while they studied in America or Britain, and "their convictions had been hardened during the turbulent years of American civil rights campaigns and anti-Vietnam protests" (Thorndike, 1985:18). Maurice Bishop was part of this group that sought to overcome the underdevelopment and the "arrested cultural growth" through non-capitalist development. Thorndike (1985) provides the only insights

to the theoretical basis of the route examined by these activists. He shall be quoted extensively in the next section.

The theory was an abridgement of Marx's description of the evolution of societies from capitalism to socialism. Bishop and others were interested in a route which could take their small underdeveloped countries to socialism, but circumventing the capitalist stage that the small Caribbean island societies had not yet entered. Lenin, Thorndike (1985) mentions, had alluded to this possibility, and it was raised again at a Moscow meeting of Communist and Worker's parties in 1960. Thorndike (1985) states that it was the Soviet scholar, R. Ulyanovsky who contributed to the formulation of the Doctrine, drafting it in the late 1960's with an eye to "the potential socialist transformation of the newly emergent African states" (p. 19). The doctrine described three stages of social change: "decolonization and 'the shaping' of the non-capitalist way; national-democratic transformations; and socialist society" (Thorndike, 1985:19-20).

General parameters for development were presented by Ulyanovsky, Thorndike (1985) reports, directions which the New Jewel Movement often followed in the four years that they were in power in Grenada. One of the major recommendations was the replacement of old colonial socio-economic structures with "state industrial

enterprises, farming cooperatives, and new crops and products" (p. 20). Foreign monopolies were to be discouraged, but their property was to have "some guarantees given" (p. 20). Both public and private development were to be encouraged, but with the public state enterprises becoming dominant. The urban proletariat was to be strengthened by the growth in the state sector and by industrialization. Traditional rural social structures were to be transformed by "agrarian reform and stratification of the peasantry" (p. 20).

Another important aspect of Ulyanovsky's doctrine that Thorndike (1985) mentions was: "all communal traditions and anti-Europeanism, stemming from reactions by the dispossessed to foreign-owned plantation systems, had to be exploited and developed" (p. 20). The doctrine continued that a government moving in these directions "should be a coalition of progressive forces", and that leadership should only be claimed with a " 'solid alliance of all anti-imperialist forces' " (p. 20).

In the economic area, Ulyanovsky prescribed that "ties with socialist countries were to be a fundamental prerequisite," however, "foreign trade (and domestic wholesaling) had to be controlled" with a "continued heavy reliance upon world capitalist markets" (Thorndike, 1985:20).

From these initial directions of the evolving society,

Ulyanovsky is described as predicting that "nationalist democracy" would emerge; making use of both anti-colonial and anti-capitalist sentiments in all aspects of society, and that a "fierce struggle" would develop between the capitalist and socialist social forces in the society (Thorndike, 1985:20 quoting Andreyev, 1974:92).

However, caution was sounded to the emerging society by Ulaynovsky. He forewarned that the beginning unprofitability of the state sector should not reduce its importance as a process; national and 'comprador' bourgeoisie were to be "firmly controlled," but "...not eliminated" (Thorndike, 1985:21). Thorndike (1985) continues describing the doctrine:

> The intelligentsia must, however, form a vanguard section advocating and working for 'deep-going social transformations' in the working people's interests. It must also be capable of giving expression to working-class aspirations by encouraging national culture and pride, and by realizing the potentialities of workers and peasants through working with them in a 'joint struggle' to advance socialist transformation. (p. 21)

The doctrine also warned against the eruption of counter-revolution, stating: "Some of the national intelligentsia would inevitably be tempted not only to deviate but to ally with the national bourgeoisie and frustrate class struggle and the revolutionary process....crises, plots, vacillation, and policy

revision....pessimism and despondency at the long and intense struggle against those whose tendency to vacillation was well known" (Thorndike, 1985:21). Thorndike further reveals the doctrine's position that "help would be available through the deepening of relations with socialist countries" (p. 22). Although this is a fairly lengthy presentation of this doctrine, it will be a useful base from which to approach the NJM's strategy for social change.

Bernard Coard

To best understand the context of the formation of the New Jewel Movement, another person must be introduced at this point. This man is Bernard Coard, a Grenadian who had been educated in the United States and Britain (the University of Sussex). He was known for writing a booklet while in London, How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System (1971). Thorndike (1985) states that Coard "had become a convinced Marxist while away [from the Caribbean] and had married an equally fervent ideologué, Phyllis Evans, when teaching in Jamaica" (p.42). He occasionally joined with Bishop and Radix while they were defending the 22 nurses imprisoned for striking in late 1970. At the time, Coard was a teacher of international relations at the University

of West Indies. It would not be until 1976 that Bernard Coard would decide to join with the New Jewel Movement and return to Grenada.

Early Actions of the NJM Party

After the formation of the New Jewel Movement in March, 1973, the fledgling party moved into the fore with popular actions and the release of a manifesto. A three day demonstration against the government resulted from the April, 1973 killing of a NJM supporter, Jeremiah Richardson, by the police (EPICA Task Force, 1982). This action brought into the NJM working class activists: George Louison, Hudson Austin, and Selwyn Strachan.

Another action occurred when Gairy was in London attending a constitutional conference. The NJM convened a parallel conference at Seamoon, near the town of Grenville, that was "attended by over 10,000 people, to denounce the terms under which Gairy was seeking complete administrative autonomy from London" (Latin American Bureau, 1984:24).

A third major action was the November 4, 1973 convention "at which Premier Gairy was tried in absentia and found guilty of 27 'crimes against the people', ranging from murder to corruption" (Latin American Bureau, 1984:24-25). The concluding call for a general strike, incensed Gairy to act against the leadership of the NJM.

Within a few days six leaders of the NJM were captured by the Mongoose Gang, shot at, beaten to the point that several received permanent injury, and left without medical care for an unpardonable time. Particularly affected was Maurice Bishop, whose face was permanently disfigured and had permanent doubled vision as a result.

"Bloody Sunday," as the incident came to be known, became a turning point for NJM support. The business community, teachers' union, churches, Rotary Club, and others acted by: a) forming a Committee of 22, b) calling an island wide strike, and c) shutting down the island for a week. The Gairy government did agree to a commission of inquiry (the Duffus Commission) and released the NJM leadership on bail, but went no further. The Committee of 22 plus the NJM now worked in concert and began an extensive strike in early 1974. The Gairy government reacted with now predictable violence, that resulted in the most callous shooting of a man protecting women and children during a street riot on the main Carenage of St. George's. This man was Maurice Bishop's gentle father, Rupert Bishop.

It is perhaps worth emphasizing at this point that these events became the living history of the Grenadian people that was related to me on the street corners and grounds where they took place. They became the subject presented in many posters, poetry, songs, slogans, skits,

and plays; telling of the tragedy that was the struggle waged against an incorrigible dictator and his absolutely ruthless Mongoose Gang. It could almost be said that a mythology grew around the leadership of the New Jewel Movement as a result of their suffering during these times.

Grenada and the NJM after Independence

Needless to say, Grenada's independence did come about on February 7, 1974 and Grenada "was on its own with Gairy" (Payne, Sutton and Thorndike, 1984:13). Finally after about two months of strike action, the protests dwindled out. The mismanagement of the government continued and a serious state of economic stagnation led to worsening conditions for the Grenadian people.

The New Jewel Movement manifesto that was produced shortly after the formation of the NJM in 1973, was not widely distributed at the time. Although the Latin American Bureau (1984) states: "The NJM's first manifesto make no mention of socialism," (p. 24) perusal of the manifesto reveals that the policy outlined was definitely "socialist oriented."

The educational programme that the NJM launched following the setback of Independence, included: a) public discussion groups that generated considerable interest

amongst the ordinary workers (support groups appeared in almost every Grenadian centre), b) public meetings island wide, c) NJM youth and women's groups (National Youth Organisation, NYO, and National Women's Organisation, NWO), and d) the expansion of the New Jewel paper within two years to a circulation of 10,000 and readership all over the country (EPICA Task Force, 1982).

Grenada was again involved with another election by 1976. The NJM, a business oriented party (the United People's Party), and the Grenada National Party (GNP), decided to form a temporary coalition, the "People's Alliance." In spite of Gairy's efforts to defraud the electoral process (EPICA Task Force, 1982:50; Jacobs and Jacobs, 1980:113; Latin American Bureau, 1984:28; Payne, Sutton, and Thorndike, 1984:15; Thorndike, 1985:52), the Alliance did win 48% of the popular vote, and the NJM gained opposition status in the legislature. Bishop was declared leader of the opposition; Bernard Coard and Unison Whiteman also gained seats.

NJM: Moving in a Marxist-Leninist Direction

The Latin American Bureau (1984), is a source that augments Thorndike's (1985) views on the incorporation of the revolutionary movement into the official communist movement. It also tries to understand the impact of

Coard's return to Grenada and alliance with the NJM. They state that Coard "was a committed proponent of the 'non-capitalist path of development' projected by the Soviet Union and Cuba for Third World countries" (p. 27). They continue:

> At the time the effects of this shift were not apparent since the formal adoption of 'Marxism-Leninism' was not openly announced. Indeed, the introduction of a model based on the experience of the Soviet party and its teachings were restricted to a very small group that now began to take on a conscious as well as circumstantial vanguard role with respect to the populace that it had succeeded in mobilising over a whole range of issues. (p. 27-8)

The Latin American Bureau (1984) also discusses Bernard Coard's impact upon the party stating: "[He was] more conversant with marxist ideas than those leaders of the NJM who had been politicised on a day-to-day basis and with minimal theoretical study, Coard played a leading role in drawing the party towards official communism" (p. 27).

It has been questioned here before, just how widespread was the manifesto of the NJM. Jacobs and Jacobs (1980) make an interesting comment about the distribution of the manifesto:

> Ever since its formation in March 1973, the N.J.M. had projected a progressive non-capitalist programme, but the party's manifesto incorporating the detailed statements on all the implications of such a programme [non-capitalist development] was not publicised until October 7, 1973 -- only six

> weeks before the November crisis. Given the low level of formal party organization at the time, there is no doubt that the document had definitely not been extensively considered, far less discussed by the people as a whole. (p. 108)

NJM Statement of Principles

It is apparent from the literature and from publications attained while visiting Grenada that a "NJM Statement of Principles, 1976" was widely distributed, both before and after the revolution. The ten principles were introduced with the statement: "WE STAND FOR:"

1. People's participation, people's politics, people's democracy.
2. People's cooperatives for the collective development of the people.
3. Health care based upon need.
4. Full development of the people's talents, abilities and culture.
5. Full control as a people of our own natural resources.
6. Employment for all.
7. A decent standard of living for every family.
8. Freedom of expression and religion.
9. The liberation of black and oppressed peoples throughout the world.
10. A united people...a new society...a just society.

(Thorndike, 1985:45)

The NJM Take Over

During the two years that followed the December, 1976 elections, Gairy's conduct grew more and more corrupt and violent. With Maurice Bishop as the leader of the opposition, the NJM had a public forum with which to inform the public of their stands against "Gairyism." Gairy's crimes have been listed elsewhere (see p.57), but it must be noted that the NJM began to prepare for revolutionary change in Grenada, the electoral process being so corrupt, it was not an option. More and more Grenadian citizens turned to the NJM to try to put an end to this dictatorship. The Latin American Bureau (1984) notes that:

> Some of the NJM's key supporters now came from the police force and the army, which had certainly been closely identified with the persecution of the party but were also sufficiently institutionalised for some of their members to hold severe reservations over the governments's cavalier attitude to the law....These contacts in the security forces proved to be vital to the NJM's eventual capture of power. It was through them that arms were acquired and the rudiments of the party's People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) established. (p. 29)

These contacts also informed the NJM of the intention of Gairy to "arrest and liquidate" them on March 13th. With this warning, when E.M. Gairy was off the island on a trip to the United States, the coup took place and the NJM

gained control of Grenada, immediately forming the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG).

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION IN REVOLUTIONARY GRENADA

This chapter will present four major topics:

1. An outline of the educational directions of the NJM delineated in the Statement of Principles and its 1973 Manifesto.

2. The history of the educational programmes and connections with the educational community established by the NJM from 1974-79.

3. The educational policy established by the PRG, as revealed by statements made by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

4. The participatory process by which the PRG engaged the educational community in a dialogue with regard to establishing new educational goals for the emerging revolutionary society. This process was initiated through a National Training Seminar and the "Work Study Approach for Community Education: Paulo Freire Workshop."

Educational Directions of the New Jewel Movement

The Statement of Principles

One of the key elements of the movement that was established in Grenada by the efforts of the young, radical

activists, Maurice Bishop, Kendrix Radix, Unison Whiteman, Jacqueline Creft, and others, when they formed the New Jewel Movement, was education. In their Statement of Principles (see p. 76), which received wide circulation amongst the public during the election campaign of 1976, the fourth point of ten brief statements was: "... (4) Full development of the people's talents, abilities and culture" (Thorndike, 1985:45).

The 1973 Manifesto

The much more comprehensive document produced by the NJM, however, somewhat restricted in its general availability, was its 1973 Manifesto (New Jewel Movement, 1974). It provided a glimpse of the New Jewel Movement's perception of the role that education was to play in bringing about the much needed change for Grenada. It also outlined the main parameters of educational change that the NJM predicted they would enact when in power.

A most important aspect of the NJM's educational plan introduced in the manifesto was it's direct link with an economic development model. The manifesto made clear that the school's role, in both the primary and secondary setting, was to teach about the economic sectors that would become the pillars of the new society: agriculture, fisheries, agro-industries, and new tourism. Through

focusing on these sectors "in an organised, regular, imaginative and practical way," school subjects would "serve the needs of the people for a better standard of life" (p. 144). The emphasis would be on the gaining of basic skills in these areas. There was a commitment to the provision of "high-quality," readily accessible, and free education in both primary and secondary schools. It was through the involvement of the community members that the practical and economically beneficial skills would be imparted to the students. New texts with locally-based information about history, geography, agriculture, and fisheries were to be collectively created with the cooperative participation of parents, teachers, and students.

In addition to the primary and secondary changes, the manifesto mentioned that a series of Freedom Schools were to be created. Basic skills in agricultural technology, boat-building, stenography, and other areas would be taught as well as life skills, black history, reading, writing, geography, and some economics. They were to be independent of the school system and staffed by volunteers.

Throughout the manifesto, a vision of an integrated society emerged; skilled Grenadians would pass along their trades to students on an ongoing basis. Nurses who had been trained for each village, would provide some basic health care for all Grenadians (such as immunization for

children), but would also be responsible for the teaching of health education in the schools. Schools would be set up to teach farmers and fishermen through the summer and during the weekends. Working with farmers, teachers, and students would be experts in agricultural research; together they would plan for the improvement of Grenadian agriculture.

A school of New Tourism and a school of Agriculture and Agro Industries would help bring about transformation of the economy, and help retain a greater proportion of the money earned from export sales on the island, thereby reducing the profits extracted by multinationals involved with shipping, marketing, tourism, and the like.

These aspects were not the only criteria expressed by the NJM in their directives for new Grenadian education. They envisioned a new society emerging that would stress "Self-Reliance" and "Self-Sufficiency" (New Jewel Movement, 1974:156). Their expressed aim was to:

> ...create an environment where it will be possible for students to be regarded also as workers and workers as students. The new system of values will demand that youth and students make a material contribution to society even while they study. Their preparation will be for entry into a real world where they must join other workers in creating and producing. (p. 156)

The revolutionary society, would also be seen as more responsible and humane as a result of the educational

improvements. This was markedly evident in the prescribed "new and different" role of the police: "The teaching of West Indian History, Community Relations, Economics and Law will enable the new breed of policeman and women to have a balanced outlook and no longer be the Robots of today" (p. 151).

Members of the whole society would be engaged in a much more participatory role. Teachers would be included along with other professionals, representatives, or leaders in organizations such as: the Public Service Commission, Workers' Assemblies, Village Assemblies, and the provisional government; elected to these positions by the members of the various groups, villages, or work places. The leadership would also take on a new face. The manifesto stated: "...the leadership must come from the people and must be accepted by the people not because of the way they look, dress or speak, but because of their proven commitments, dedication and hard work in the interests of the people" (p. 155).

However, it was viewed that the leadership would bring about this new societal state by playing definite roles:

> We of the NJM believe that the only way out of the present mess is for a new progressive, dynamic, imaginative, honest and hard-working leadership to take power. This leadership must work closely with the people of every village, helping them to organise and improve their skills and carry out their ideas for a better life. Our goal is to eventually replace the present political system

> with a truly democratic and grass-roots system in which the people of every village and parish and of the island as a whole, will be able to exercise power on their own behalf, in their own interests in order to build a bright future for themselves. (p. 155)

From this analysis of the NJM manifesto written in 1973, within a few months of the formation of this political party, several main parameters of the vision of education for the new society can be summarized:

1. Education is linked to a self-sufficiency model of economic development.

2. Schools must emphasize the basic skills involved with agriculture, fisheries, agricultural industries, and a non-exploitative tourism as well as West Indian black culture, history, economics, and the like.

3. Primary and secondary schools must be readily accessible, of high quality, and have no prohibiting fees.

4. Community participation is critical to the functioning of the schools.

5. Freedom schools, agricultural schools, fisheries schools, new tourism schools, all will be set up both as extension programs for workers and job preparation courses for young adults.

6. The intellectal/worker dichotomy is to be overcome.

7. A more humane society will emerge that has greater involvement of people with their politic, as a result of these educational changes.

The Process of Gaining Public Support--an Educational Task

This section will present two aspects of the period 1974-79: a) educational programmes directed toward the Grenadian people by the NJM to build public support, and b) evidence of support for the NJM from the educators and students within Grenada.

Educational Programmes of the New Jewel Movement

Unlike other political movements that may have had their leadership rooted in the business sector, right from the beginning the NJM bureau was well represented by teachers: Unison Whiteman was a Grenadian economics teacher; Jacqueline Creft was a Grenadian teacher credited by Thorndike (1985) with "an active recruitment role amongst her colleagues" (p. 43); George Louison was a teacher, certified in 1974 by the Grenada Teachers' College; and finally Bernard Coard, who had been a teacher for several years, and had written about racism in British schools, although whose main field was economics (Coard, 1971). Since the NJM political bureau had only 16 members, it may be safe to assume that the influence of these educators was considerable.

Initially the NJM worked to organize conventions (really large rallies) whereby large numbers of Grenadians heard the NJM's plans of action. One of the first was in the spring of 1973, it focused on the pending Independence action Prime Minister Gairy was initiating. Another was in the fall of 1973; it concerned the repression suffered by people opposed to Prime Minister Gairy. The Grenadian people did respond with great enthusiasm, despite harassment by the Mongoose Gang. Various reports have stated that over 10,000 Grenadians attended each rally.

In addition to "mobilizing the masses" in large rallies, the NJM launched other organizational efforts which constituted the building of a vanguard party. They concentrated on the building of NJM groups in workplaces, villages, towns, and unions; essentially establishing a cadre. Maurice Bishop's 1977 interview with Pedro Pablo Rodriquez (Marcus and Taber, 1983:21) indicated that of sixteen unions in Grenada (only six were major ones) the NJM had members on the executive committees of four. The NJM was instrumental in the long struggle which led to the formation of the Bank and General Workers' Union.

The NJM established broad organizations such as the National Women's Organisation (NWO) and the National Youth Organisation (NYO). Farmers, who had been Grenada United Labour Party's (GULP) mainstay since 1950, were not effectively organized by the NJM.

One compelling educational tool that Prime Minister Gairy repeatedly tried to suppress was the NJM newspaper--the "New Jewel." It served as a vehicle for the NJM to express their alternatives to the Grenadian people. The "New Jewel" became widespread, reaching a circulation of 10,000, in a country where functional literacy had slipped to 40% in the trying years just before the revolution (Thorndike, 1985).

Jacobs and Jacobs (1980), both NJM party cadres during the revolutionary time, had this to say about the educational process that the NJM embarked upon before the revolution:

> Victimization of workers was a daily experience in Grenada. Each such action served only to fuel the N.J.M. propaganda machine and contributed to the development of both the objective and subjective factors.
>
> By their extensive public meeting programme and perceptible hard and consistent work among the masses--particularly the urban workers, the unemployed, the youth and women--the NJM developed a high level of legitimacy. (p. 112)

The public meeting format was also described by Jacobs and Jacobs (1980): first presented were the effects of Prime Minister Gairy's dictatorship, and then advocated was the NJM "non-capitalist alternative that would provide the material needs of the society--food, housing, clothing, education, health facilities and jobs while restoring the dignity of the people of Grenada" (p. 112).

When, in the 1976 elections, the NJM formed a broad alliance with two other parties, creating the People's Alliance, the NJM won three seats and Maurice Bishop was appointed leader of the opposition. Bishop finally had the stage that he desired; the NJM now had a "national arena" from which they could present their political platform to all Grenada and the world beyond. Jacobs and Jacobs (1980) viewed this position as a most advantageous one: "...it provided an invaluable opportunity to demonstrate to the people as a whole the validity of the statement that they [the NJM] made in their manifesto that 'the present constitution is a total farce, and its provisions are broken, ignored or rejected by this government as a matter of course' " (p. 114).

Jacobs and Jacobs (1980) indicated that the education and preparation of the Grenadian people for a new and more participatory type of government was a more important result of the pre-revolutionary period than the ousting of the Prime Minister and the Grenada United Labour Party. A popular slogan from the countryside of Grenada reflected their view: "Not just another society but a just society" (Hodge and Searle, n.d.:22). By helping "parents in the depressed River Road area to set up and run for themselves a day-care centre," the NJM exemplified the pragmatic policies that their manifesto spelled out, should they ever gain governing status (Hodge and Searle, n.d.:22).

Support for the NJM in the Educational Community

Although the educational community had been in general reticent to adopt any dramatic social change over the years, certain sectors had protested against Prime Minister Gairy's governing and had increasingly supported the oppositional stance of the NJM. The response from the educational sector involved both teachers and students.

Jacobs and Jacobs (1980) described various occasions when the educational sector demonstrated their disagreement with Gairy. They detailed the endorsement of the NJM by the Grenadian Union of Teachers (GUT), and the Masters and Mistresses Association (MMA) stating that the leadership of the associations were "strongly sympathetic to the N.J.M. although the membership itself consisted of a significant minority of backward elements who openly expressed fears of socialism if N.J.M. should take political office" (p. 102).

The student body in Grenada was a volatile and reactive element in the society. When Gairy and Blaize visited London to finalize the "Independence Constitution," and when "the chamber of commerce and the urban trade unions, organized a protest that shut down all business establishments" (Jacobs and Jacobs, 1980:100), primary and secondary school children joined with bank clerks, electricity, telephone, and water workers, along with many

others to protest the government's actions. Students also functioned as: "militant field soldiers of the N.J.M. and their allies" (Jacobs and Jacobs, 1980:102), from 1970, onwards.

Jacobs and Jacobs discussed their rationale for teacher and student support for the NJM. The reasons that they mentioned and which produced the extreme alienation from the Gairy regime were as follows:

1. Low wages for teachers which did not match the importance that their positions held for the society.

2. Gairy's patronage based on loyalty. Teachers who were viewed disfavourably by Gairy daily faced the prospect of unexplained transfers into inconvenient and remote areas.

3. Misallocation of funds and mismanagement of financial resources which led to deteriorating schools and the absence of a sufficient quantity of teaching aids.

4. Gairy's crude and frequent displays of arrogance.

5. Increases in school fees.

6. Compulsory blazers and ties for all secondary school students.

7. Non-payment of Grenada's contributory fees to the University of West Indies therefore prospective students were forced to pay the full cost (unless they were especially privileged).

8. High unemployment and underemployment.

The following quotation from Hodge and Searle (n.d.) of an interview with a eighteen year old woman, provided some insight into why youth supported the NJM. Just as a background reminder, Bloody Monday was the day Rupert Bishop, father of Maurice Bishop, was killed while protecting children and women during a street riot on the main Carenage in St. George's (also see p. 72). She first described how children were shot at during the Bloody Monday demonstration and then continued:

> So that was life in Gairy's days, and you can see that it was bad for the children too. There was nothing for us. In the towns, really for the upper-class children, there were Scouts and Guides, but for the country children and the children of the workers there was very little.
> The children were really scared to oppose Gairy most of the time. I remember once in St. David's when his men went into a young comrades's house and took out all his books. This almost made us afraid to read ourselves. And in the schools the education was generally bad. Two-thirds of our teachers were untrained and many of them just wrote things onto the blackboard and then sat back and read, leaving us to copy. There were few practical activities for us. So many of us soon became bored, and this created a high drop-out rate. You had a lot of childen pelting mangoes in the street, and a state of mass truancy. Children left school early to sell postcards to the tourists, or to dive for the money they threw into the harbour from the tourist boats. Even in St. David's, a long way from the city, you'd see children climbing dangerous trees with a bunch of bananas or flowers on their heads, so the tourists could photograph them and say: 'what a lovely monkey you are!'
> Child labour was common because of the poor situations in the homes, and many children stayed away from the school to help mind younger brothers or sisters. All this hindered the children's progress in education. Gairy had no respect for the rights of the child. He gave us all a dollar on Independence Day--which was also his birthday--but that was all. (p. 78)

Jacobs and Jacobs (1980) present the teachers' most militant action against Gairy: "On 1st of June, 1978, teachers of the Denominational Government Assisted Secondary Schools went on a sick out to protest against the continued refusal or the inability of the schools' administration to pay increased salaries" (p. 111). Further, they quote a report, Human Rights Violations in Grenada, by Colville McBarnette which describes the teachers' frustrations of having "no alternative but to demonstrate against an iniquitous situation" (p. 111). Gairy's contemptuous response stated that teachers were "part-time strikers...who are selling insurance, distributing communist literature and preaching indiscipline and disrespect to pupils" (p. 111).

In summary, this section of the chapter presents information about student and teacher responses first, to the Gairy regime, and then to the alternatives that the NJM offered. Both groups were severely affected by the government's financial mismanagement and ruthlessness. Students seemed to be prepared to demonstrate in the streets against the government, sometimes suffering physically from the violence that ensued. Many were willing to assist the NJM to the extent that Jacobs and Jacobs refer to them as 'militant field soldiers.' Teachers were reticent to become involved with protest,

knowing that the government would retailiate against opposition in a way that would affect their positions as teachers. The leadership of the teacher unions, GUT and MMA heartily endorsed the alternatives proposed by the NJM.

Educational Policy of the PRG

When they gained power through the practically bloodless coup of March 13, 1979, the NJM had realized the opportunity to implement their programmes. Their policies described in the manifesto could now be enacted from the governing position. The events of the 1970's had led the Grenadian people to heartily endorse Gairy's departure, and equally heartily welcome Maurice Bishop as the incoming leader of the victorious faction, now declared the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG). Since the early seventies, Maurice Bishop had become a well known figure in Grenada, and many records describing the events of March 13, 1979, indicate that the Grenadian people were particulary joyous at the sudden change of events. The coup was manoeuvered by a very small segment of the NJM, which later became the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA); almost all towns and villages heard of the take-over through radio broadcasts from Radio Free Grenada. Grenadian people were asked to go en masse to the police stations and 'liberate them.' When

little resistance was offered, the complete island quickly came under the governing of the PRG.

Early Statements Concerning Educational Policy made by the PRG

Speeches and addresses made by Maurice Bishop in the first year of the revolution, provide glimpses of the PRG's concerns with regard to Grenada's educational legacy. They also indicate what directions the PRG intended for their educational programmes and how their plan described in the 1973 Manifesto would be implemented.

Four months after assuming power, Prime Minister Bishop spoke at a National Education Conference held July 2 and 3, 1979, in Grenada. That address outlined first, deep misgivings that Bishop held regarding the educational legacy of Grenada. Describing it as "perhaps the worst crime that colonialism left our country," he further stated that the system was used "to teach our people an attitude of self-hate, to get us to abandon our history, our culture, our values...to get us to accept the principles of white superiority, to destroy our confidence, to stifle our creativity, to perpetuate in our society class privilege and class difference" (Marcus and Taber, 1983:42).

Other concerns that Bishop voiced were: (a) that the colonial education system had encouraged a number of

"deep-seated fallacies" especially the belief that "social mobility was the most important factor to be had from education;" (b) that colonial education reinforced negative attitudes in the society of "acquiring individual wealth," of racism, and of chauvinism; and (c) that the colonial education system reinforced "narrow nationalism and...isolationism," the acceptance of "authoritarian rule," and "a hierarchical structure that says that the people do not have any right to participate, do not have any right to have their voices heard" (Marcus and Taber, 1983:43).

In a later address to teachers at the opening of the National Training Seminar (also known as the National Teachers' Seminar), January 4, 1980, Bishop outlined the four main elements of a revolutionary educational system:

> Firstly, it attempts to teach people a greater understanding of their own reality in order for them best to understand how to change it. Secondly, it attempts to develop the innate abilities of the masses of our people and not just in entrenching the priviledges [sic] of a few. Thirdly, it should seek to develop the productive capacity of our society since it is only through an expansion in production that the standard of living including the educational system can be improved. And fourthly, it tries to promote the democratization of our society: i.e. the process by which people are encouraged to take an active part in the educational system itself and in all major decisions that affect our lives. (p. 3)

During the four and a half years that the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) was in power in Grenada

(1979-83), the state made considerable effort to act upon these condemnations of colonial education. They trained teachers who had had little or no formal educational courses so that they could "provide a scientific education to our children" (Bishop, 1984:182). As well the PRG tried to overcome the neglect and decline that schools had suffered, and to establish programmes, albeit mostly in the adult education realm, that would fulfill the main objectives of revolutionary education stated above.

Besides changes in the formal school system, the PRG established three new educational agencies within the first year of their revolutionary government. These agencies were: (a) the National In-Service Teacher Education Programme, (b) the Community School Day Programme, and (c) the Centre for Popular Education.

Developing Educational Goals

National Training Seminar

In July, 1979, a mere 5 months after gaining governing status in Grenada, Maurice Bishop was challenging teachers to "use the educational system and process as a means of preparing the new man for the new life in the new society we are trying to build" (Marcus and Taber, 1983:47). He

specified the mandate of the educators:

> We must move to wipe out illiteracy, we must move to develop a system of work and study in the schools, we must move to make all of us who are capable of being such teachers, develop the concepts of taking education into the countryside on a voluntary basis to those of our unfortunate sisters and brothers who are not even able to come to the town to get that education. (Marcus and Taber, 1983:47)

With these directives, began the broad institutional changes within the Grenadian educational system that are the major focus of this study.

The need for professional training of the majority of teachers, the need for adult literacy as apparent in the lack of functional literacy skills of a significant portion of the population, and the possibility to rethink the whole curricular offering by the school system, led the PRG to first establish a small curriculum development unit and to then initiate a "process of consultation" with Grenadian educators. Maurice Bishop recalled, "In January, 1980, all teachers in the primary and junior secondary sector were called together, to reflect critically upon the education system inherited by the revolution and to formulate directions for change" (Marcus and Taber, 1983:217). This consultative process was called "One of the earliest initiatives of the Revolution to democratize the functioning of the education system" (Introduction, Teachers Speak, 1980:4). The summaries of the group

reports were published in 1981 by the Ministry of Education and made widely available in a booklet called Teachers Speak. Earlier mimeographed sheets of the group reports were also available.

The process followed in the consultation was described in the introduction to Teachers Speak (p. 4):

> Teachers were addressed by Government Ministers, given information on the various areas of national development, and asked to discuss, in workshop sessions, how education could serve our national development."

The following are a few of the teacher's suggestions recorded in Teachers Speak:

1. A closer correlation between learning and working, theory and practice.
2. A special drive to involve teachers in Agriculture - crash programmes, in-service programmes.
3. More practical education - move towards work study.
4. Massive adult education programme to change attitudes toward agriculture, to inculcate in the public a sense of the vital role of agriculture. (emphasis in original)
5. Integration of school and society - School should not end at 3 p.m.
6. Schools to be used as centres for mass production so as to make local products cheaper than the imported.
7. Teach history and geography of Grenada, show beauty of one's own country. Encourage children to keep the country beautiful.
8. Tourism to be included under Social Studies.
9. Political education as a significant part of the school curriculum, so as to fully understand the situations we're faced with...so that we might develop the kinds of attitudes that would help us solve the problems we face.
10. The present education system generates unemployment.

11. Attitudes to skilled labour to be changed - teach importance, dignity of categories of labour - teachers e.g. participate in agricultural work and set example.
12. Whole system of teachers' examinations to be reorganized, so that teachers may qualify themselves without neglecting pupils.
13. Teachers to get in on the policies of their country, both foreign and domestic...more information to be disseminated to teachers so that they could pass this on to their pupils and their communities.
14. The masses should be involved in the policy-making of a country. And in order that this might become a reality, people must be equipped with a certain knowledge and certain intellectual skills from as early an age as possible.
15. Develop in children an alertness to the possibility of infiltration and destabilization. Children should know the power and tactics of the CIA and other multi-national operations. Build up the level of consciousness in our children so that no subversive elements will be able to influence them easily.
16. Our children learn about children in other parts of the world, particularly those in the democratic, revolutionary and struggling countries. (Selections made from throughout the whole document.)

These comments were just a few of many that emerged from discussions related to these topics: (a) agriculture, agro-industries, forestry, fisheries, livestock, and tourism; (b) communications, construction, and infrastructural development; (c) foreign policy; (d) health and housing; and (e) strategy of economic development. Teachers were also given two position papers: "A critical examination of Grenada's educational system" and "A new curriculum for primary schools." Unfortunately, copies of these papers were not enclosed in Teachers Speak. The summary comments of workshop reports on the two papers are

included in Appendix B.

Work Study Approach for Community Education--Paulo Freire Workshop

With the Teachers Speak response to the PRG positions on possible educational change within the revolutionary context, the PRG continued to seek participatory input from teachers through other seminars. The one best documented occurred on February 20-28, 1980 at Carifta Cottages, St. George's and involved the noted Brazilian emancipatory educator, Paulo Freire. Other workshop leaders included: Joao Bosco, Brazil; Hippolito Gonzales, Colombia; Arturo Ornelas, Mexico (the Organization of American States, Department of Education); and Anne Hudson, Jamaica (University of West Indies). The workshop was titled: "Work Study Approach for Community Education: Paulo Freire Workshop." It was sponsored by the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education.

Valerie Cornwall, coordinator for the Centre for Popular Education described the workshop as one of three national level seminars held in the period of mobilization for the CPE literacy campaign. She stated that the main objective was to involve professional teachers and members of some organizations in the discussion and preparation of the CPE Phase I literacy campaign (Report on Adult Literacy

Campaign. Grenada, July, 1980 - March, 1981, p. 7).

Participants in the seminar were fifty teachers from parishes all over Grenada, Carriacou, and Petite Martinique. Four government officials from the Ministry of Agriculture and two "coordinators" from the Ministry of Education also were key attendants. Particular attention was paid to the process of the workshop, and an effort was made to record accurately the proceedings, to enable it to be broadcast on Radio Free Grenada and in published form to be "discussed in workshop sessions in the communities, involving teachers and community representatives from areas such as Health, Sport, Agriculture, C.P.E. [Centre for Popular Education], P.T.A. [Parent Teacher Advisory], and school repair brigades" (Work Study Approach for Community Education, 1980:1).

The problem posed to the participants was presented in this way in the Introduction of the report:

> The concept of work-study which has emerged in revolutionary Grenada is not a question of tacking on a new subject to the schools' time-table, but an approach to education which will affect the whole curriculum. The curriculum will be seen as an integrated whole, not as individual subject areas, academic and practical, each in a compartment by itself and having nothing to do with the others.
>
> But more than this, the idea of integrating work with study extends beyond the school curriculum. What we are in fact talking about is a curriculum for the community: the whole community going back to school. (Emphasis in original.) The new approach aims to end the longstanding separation between school and community. It sees the school as an integral part of the community.

> It sees education as not only a school activity, a process that ends when one steps outside of the schoolbuilding.
>
> Education is seen as a community activity aimed at improving life in the community, and therefore the school curriculum becomes a continuous whole with worker education, consumer education, parent education, adult literacy programmes, primary health care, co-operative education - the whole gamut of functional education. (Emphasis in orginal. "Work Study Approach for Community Education," 1980:1)

The groups were asked to contemplate and discuss the following themes:

1. My prevailing ideas of work-study - my understanding of it, the problems I perceive, and my reaction to it.

2. What really is Work? Study? Community? What do these terms refer to in concrete reality? What are people's perceptions of these terms? What is the difference between a work-study programme in schools, and a work-study approach in education?

3. What concrete strategies can we as teachers take to facilitate the development of a work-study approach to education in the community, as distinct from "work-study subjects" in the schools? (p. 4)

The groups met for three days, discussing a separate theme each morning followed by afternoon plenary sessions during which they evaluated earlier comments, developed philosophical stances, and established plans for action related to each theme. When examining work study, the participants were asked not to consider it as just "a

'programme' like another subject in schools...[not] as a concept for today...but as a historical process, and a method that goes throughout and transforms education" (p. 13, emphasis in original).

After examining the themes, each group spent two days "working to produce a booklet for the future guidance of other teachers in developing a work-study education process in the community" (Work Study Approach for Community Education, 1980:5). An analogy was drawn between the manufacture of shoes that has a definite end-product, and their "intellectual or mental workshop." "Our end product will be one booklet which will be designed according to a model that includes the theoretical premises about the work-study approach in the community, the design of the approach, the strategy and techniques for carrying it out" (p. 6, emphasis in original).

The proceedings of the workshop provide for students of the Grenadian revolution, one of the most insightful glimpses into the type of discussion that preceeded educational changes. Through examination of the report, it became clear that the fundamental revolutionary goal underlying the discussion was the intention to get the mainstay of the Grenadian economy going--agricultural production, and the major focus of any type of community project such as work-study was to be the increasing of productivity through the promotion of a work ethic.

The school system inherited by the revolution, directly contradicted this economic goal. Suggestions were made of approaches that could try to overcome this educational malaise: utilizing local language, involving the community, linking study to local industry, and forcing teachers to participate directly with production.

Initially, the reaction of the participants showed that they were very grounded in the classroom environment. They expressed concern about implementation of work-study: "we must draw on community people to come in and help with the work-study programme" (p. 11, emphasis in original). Other comments related to "irrelevant textbooks," tired children, teacher's favouritism, and the prevalence of flogging in schools.

As the workshop progressed comments became broader and more philosophical: "A work-study approach in school will help to change the society if the children understand the process and keep the value of their labour. When they are adults then they will not accept exploitation in the world of work" (p. 18). Finally, the participants were involved with the writing of the booklet that would serve as a guide to help them "be the '12 apostles'...going into your community to help and train other teachers in how to approach the establishment in a community of a process by which a work-study approach can emerge" (p. 27).

Teachers expressed various reactions to the workshop.

Some needed further explanation: "The report said that we must show how a few got rich and most are kept poor. I want to know, how does this happen?" (p. 28). Others were uncertain who would be appropriate to initiate community projects with, "traditional leaders" who were popular grass roots leaders and would lead "maroon" work groups, or political leaders in the community. Concern was expressed that often teachers had "never spoken in depth to the people in their community. They are not even aware of the conditions of poverty in their community. They keep themselves apart" (p. 29).

One group was able to throw off their current condition and completely envision anew what their school system would be like. From this exercise they developed many convincing commitments to the work-study approach. They asserted:

1. that we <u>do not</u> put ourselves on a separate plane from the masses.
   a) we will have to find out who works in the community, for whom they work and what their class struggles are.
   b) that as petite bourgeoisie it would be hard, but that we will have to commit class suicide.
   c) that dealing with proletarian or even international bourgeoisie, we do not expound on any one, our principles, beliefs, or opinions, but by our approach we let each person come to terms with his social existence.
2. that we <u>do not</u> count the cost of sacrifice...
3. that the people should <u>not</u> be treated as if they were ignorant or backward, but that through reflection and working together we

> let them realize their own needs.
> 4. we should not transfer our knowledge by taking up authoritarian positions.
> 5. do not encourage any undue political arguements. This means, that although we know and understand that our entire existence is political we do not allow a discussion to take on a petty-political 'line'. (p. 30-31, only half of the comments included here, emphasis in original)

The report contained suggestions for many new and specific roles for teachers:

1. "The teacher needs to undergo a personal revolution."

2. The teacher should endeavour to discuss "the whole international scene...with the children and ultimately with their parents."

3. "The school community should wage a struggle (ideological, class struggle) to transform these [class] divisions in sociey."

4. "The teachers will have to work towards the goal of the school becoming part of the community [not just a decree from the Ministry of Education]--this is the revolutionary objective."

5. "Teachers must be fully aware of what is going on in the community and in the nation in a revolutionary context."

6. "Teachers should visit the homes of parents and other people in the community, to get closer to the people, to get their ideas and to let them know what's going on."

7. "Teachers must be involved in working in work projects in the community and not just take a supervisory role."

8. "A responsibility of the teacher is to explain issues, national and controversial, to the community as they arise. These explanations should be vividly illustrated."

9. "Teachers must have constant access to information on national plans, have the facts." (p. 8-24)

> You can have a revolutionized education system, but towards what goals? Bourgeois education could be revolutionary compared to the past. So we must define goals. (p. 26)
>
> In the old bourgeois system the goal of education was for the good of the few, exploiting the small man. In our revolutionary society our goals are more towards the good of the nation, the good of all. (p. 26)

It was obvious that some ideas of how these changes would come about had been discussed. Initial descriptions of the Centre for Popular Education were made:

> First everyone in the community must understand the revolutionary nature of the society in which we are living today, and the types of goals that the new society is aiming towards. The Centres for Popular Education are crucial in this process, as they can provide avenues to enable the community to participate in formulating new programmes based on a heightened understanding of their reality. Such programmes of community awareness and participation should include the following strategies: - Educational goals must be changed in the context of national goals, e.g. making access to education universal so that all have equal educational

> opportunity and restructuring education so that everyone has a chance to be involved in the industries in their area (this will incorporate the community and school in socio-economic change). (p. 33)

The November 21, 1982 speech by Prime Minister Bishop (1984:182) explains that further sessions on the work study theme did occur. One example was the Education and Production conference. Bishop described that it was "for all people of the region because its main focus is the question of integrating work and study, so that education may become more relevant."

This section has attempted to present the type of discussions described by Prime Minister of Revolutionary Grenada as "initiatives of the Revolution to democratize the functioning of the educational system" (Introduction, Teachers Speak 1980:4). They became an important part of the participatory process that developed goals and institutions for Grenadian educational change under the PRG.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION IN REVOLUTIONARY GRENADA: THE INHERITED PROGRAMME AND NEW INITIATIVES

This chapter describes the educational system conceded by the revolutionary process from former Prime Minister E.M. Gairy and his government. Then it progresses to describe a variety of educational changes in both the formal and non-formal educational sectors brought about by the People's Revolutionary Government during its short four year period of governing. This discussion does not elaborate on the three major educational programmes developed by the PRG. They are reserved for presentation in the last chapter of data, Chapter V.

The Educational System Inherited by the PRG

No encompassing description of the school system inherited by the PRG has ever been delineated. However, by examining several reports, speeches, and other information it is possible to build a composite picture of the educational system assumed by the People's Revolutionary Government.

Grenada's Central Statistical office (August, 1980) reported that in 1979 Grenada had 61 primary schools with 761 teachers and 22,861 students. The secondary schools

numbered 21, employed 295 teachers, and 6,381 students. There are conflicting reports in this area for another source has mentioned that there are more primary schools and fewer secondary schools. The Prime Minister has stated: "We have nearly 40,000 children in school here" (Bishop, 1984:64).

Comments made by Maurice Bishop indicated that the previous government had spent about $8.8 million dollars on education annually (Marcus and Taber, 1983:221). Schools were generally in need of some sort of repair, especially pre-primary and secondary (Marcus and Taber, 1983:45). The teacher-student ratio was as high as 1:50 (Bishop, 1984:182).

As few as thirty percent of the primary teachers had received any form of professional training. Maurice Bishop stated: "On the secondary level the picture is even worse; it is something like 7 percent of all the teachers who have received some form of professional training" (Marcus and Taber, 1983:45). Pre-primary teachers were as a rule not trained.

Advertisements for teachers' positions in the Grenadian Newspaper, "The Free West Indian," (FWI) provide a certain idea of what qualifications were needed by teachers to gain positions in the school system and although these references are from the revolutionary times, it is almost certain that changes in hiring policy with

regard to certification requirements had not occurred.

An advertisement in the May 29, 1982 issue of FWI requested that teachers with the following requirements apply for postions in secondary schools: at least A Level qualifications or at least five O Levels. The ad continued mentioning that graduates with diplomas in education would receive the highest salary. Applicants were advised: "Candidates would be required to pursue a special course on teaching methods for secondary school teachers in August before taking up their appointments in September" (p. 11). An ad in the August 21, 1982 issue of FWI stated that the minimum requirements for primary teachers were a school-leaving certificate or at least one General Certificate of Education (GCE) O Level pass.

Persons with university degrees would have most likely found employment as teachers in the Institue for Further Education where students prepared for their G.C.E. A Level examinations. A July 14, 1982 article in the FWI mentioned that twelve of the full-time staff at the Institute for Further Education had university degrees.

From these excerpts, it can better be understood how persons could be practicing in the school system without "professional training." Those who had merely become graduates of the primary school system by gaining a school-leaving certificate were considered to be fully qualified as primary teachers. The NISTEP programme, to be discussed in Chapter V, will describe the PRG's effort to

provide primary teachers with some "professional training." It is interesting to note that by the fall of 1983, NISTEP's mandate was expanded to include a two year programme for early childhood workers.

Literacy rates of the populace were reported by the Grenada Statistical Office to be 85%. This statement was supported by a 1979 World Bank report which estimated Grenada's illiteracy rate to be 15%. The Organization of American States Atlas of 1979 estimated that in 1976, some 86 percent of the population aged 15 and over, had only primary schooling or less ("Free West Indian," February 28, 1981, p. 8). In a speech made on January 4, 1980, Maurice Bishop stated ("Opening of the National Training Seminar," p. 11):

> We would estimate that at least 40% of the people of our country are functionally illiterate. In other words, they can read and write in the sense of signing their names and recognising 'apple' or 'bat' but not in the sense of being able to fully appreciate what is in the newspaper or being able to fully understand what is being said on the radio when a commentary is being made.

Grenada's educational curriculum followed a British model, with students organized into standards one to seven (occasionally standard eight as well) in primary schools and forms one to five in secondary schools. Students in standard 4 to 7, who were between 10 and 14 years of age, and who wished to enter the secondary schools, needed to successfully pass a common entrance examination set by a

local secondary school and marked by the Ministry of Education. School fees of $37.50 per term were required to enter the secondary school system. Secondary schools oriented their students toward successful competition in the British GCE O Levels. Gumbs (1982:239) noted that of 1238 students who wrote O Level English in the 1980 exam, there was only a 24% pass rate. The furnishing of school uniforms and texts at all levels of the school system was the responsibility of the parents. Unsuccessful examinees of the common entrance examination, remained in primary schools or "junior secondary schools" and upon completion of Standard 6 or 7, and reaching the age of 16, they would write the school leavers' examination. Gumbs' research (1982:239) presented the dismal information that in 1978, out of 979 children who wrote the school leaving examination, only 28 passed both English and Mathematics. An Institute for Further Education offered school leavers and secondary graduates some academic options that led to their sitting for the British A Levels as well as commercial courses. A Grenada Technical and Vocational Insititute also offered courses in building trades, engineering, and business education.

Although many other aspects of the school system have thus far been described, it is the condition of the schools that was the most shocking revelation of neglect. Unfortunately, improvement in this condition was a long-term project which not even three years of

revolutionary change had greatly altered. The schools resembled, to my eyes from the Canadian prairies, old hockey arenas and church basements. Poorly lit, unpainted, in need of repair, they lacked everything but the most meagre of benches or desks for seating and a painted wall for a chalkboard. The most severe instructional difficulty that I could see was the incessant noise created by so many classes crammed into open spaces without much more than a moveable chalkboard for a division. Sanitation was deplorable; toilet facilities were usually functioning very poorly. One principal complained that a young student received several stitches on her bottom after being injured on a cracked toilet bowl. It was not unusual to see letters to the editor written in the "Free West Indian" which complained of poor conditions within the schools.

With these problems, teachers fell back upon strict authoritative teaching methods with harsh disciplinary codes to try to keep student attention and orderliness. Rote response was necessitated by the high noise levels.

My own teaching (to be elaborated upon in Chapter V), took place in a cinder block and concrete kitchen set up with a few wooden benches. The subject was Drama and it was most difficult to conduct because students were very hesitant to sit on the floor in fear of dirtying their school uniforms. There were a few benches. Although there was no chalkboard, I had come to Grenada equipped with felt markers and masking tape. With them and some

newsprint that friendly workers at the Free West Indian print shop supplied me with, I was able to present lessons to the students in a make-shift fashion. My primary students had only one exercise book for all subjects and hardly any texts were apparent.

This section has presented statistical information and observations of the school system in place in Grenada when the People's Revolutionary Government came into power. It will provide a basis from which to compare the educational changes that they enacted.

Primary and Secondary Educational Changes by the PRG

Educational change within the primary and secondary schools was a major avenue by which the PRG revealed to the Grenadian public its intention to live up to its manifesto and attempt to reconstruct Grenada from the devastation of the previous government. Within 17 months of the take-over by the NJM, Prime Minister Bishop pronounced to the Grenadian people a remarkable set of educational accomplishments:

> We [the PRG] have placed heavy emphasis on education as a tool for national development...We have seen...the lowering of school fees, the granting of more scholarships in the first year of people's power than the preceding five years put together, the introduction of a school feeding program, the beginning of the process of consultation and discussions among teachers of the major problems of the education system, the

beginning of work on a new curriculum, the school repair program (Marcus and Taber, 1983:120).

School Fees, School Repair

These milestones achieved during the first year were in many cases, just beginning points. The school fees for admission to secondary schools were reduced from $35.00 to $12.50 E.C. during the first year, and eventually removed altogether (Bishop, 1984:56). It was during that two week period in January, 1980, when the Grenadian primary and junior secondary teachers were involved with the January National Training Seminar that community brigades set to work repairing primary schools. About 66 schools were repaired by volunteer labour, saving over one million dollars to the PRG. Unfortunately, this valiant effort did not completely alleviate the dismal state of schools. Maurice Bishop stated in late 1981 that the schools still needed $2.5 million E.C. worth of renovations and repairs (Marcus and Taber, 1983:221).

Reduction of the Teacher-Student Ratio

Although not specifically stated in other sources, in a speech dated November 21, 1982, Maurice Bishop expressed the PRG's appal at the unwielding teaching load of Grenadian teachers before the revolution. He stated that "education...has been and continues to be one of the major

areas of focus of our revolution...that is why the ratio of teachers to students was reduced so dramatically, from one teacher to 51 students before the Revolution to one teacher for every 30 students today" (Bishop, 1984:182).

Truancy: A Continuing Problem

Although the conditions within primary schools had improved greatly by repairs, reduced teacher-student ratio, and financial assistance for texts and uniforms, problems existed with pupil truancy. They continued to the point that the PRG was compelled to open a "Child Care and Protection Unit...to ensure that all school-aged children attend school" (J. Creft, Minister of Education cited in "Caribbean Monthly Bulletin," Vol.17, #3-4:18-19). The Unit was to be staffed with field officers who could investigate the source of absenteeism which reached as high as 40% of the enrolled students.

Secondary School Placements

Expansion of the number of placements in the secondary school was another significant change for Grenadian students. Prior to the revolution, 11% of students attended secondary school, while after the revolution, there were 35% more students attending (Bishop: 1984:182). In October, 1981, Prime Minister Bishop stated that there

were 40% of students attending secondary school (Marcus and Taber, 1983:221).

Science Teachers from the Soviet Union

With the expansion of secondary school placements, a need was generated for more classrooms and teachers at the secondary level. Some teachers were recruited from Western non-governmental networks such as Canada's CUSO, but it seems that some teachers were also recruited from Eastern block countries. The "Caribbean Monthly Bulletin" describes the post-invasion eviction of fifteen Soviet teachers who were teaching science through a PRG and USSR agreement (CMB, Vol.17, 11-12:19).

Scholarships

With regard to scholarships, prior to the removal of school fees for secondary education, the PRG increased its scholarship programme for secondary students. As well, there were scholarships offered for study overseas. The Prime Minister declared, "After the revolution [occurred], in the first six months, 109 scholarships [were offered], 109 people are able to go abroad to study" (Marcus and Taber, 1983:109). As early as July, 1979, Cuba offered "38 scholarships for higher education in Cuba...[the] programme expanded quickly and in mid-1982 it was reported that over

250 Grenadians were currently studying in Cuba" (Payne, Sutton, and Thorndike, 1984:83). Announcements of the availability of scholarships for Cuba and the Soviet Union were displayed in the "Free West Indian." Scholarships frequently were arranged for study to other socialist countries (Hungary, Czechoslovakia); Canada, Britain and other commonwealth countries also provided them. During the summer of 1982, the "Free West Indian" frequently contained glowing accounts written by students who had studied in Cuba or the USSR (Vol. III, #37, pp.6; #39, pp.15; #40, pp.8).

School Feeding Programmes

Information on school feeding programmes was scant. However, a project proposal for funding submitted to the Canadian Hunger Foundation offered some factual information. The proposal, prepared by the Agency for Rural Transformation stated that in 1981:

> Out of 63 primary and all-age schools, 19 are presently serving a hot meal at least 4 time/week [sic] and at least 1/3 of these also serve a mid-morning milk and biscuit snack to a larger number of children. The total number of schools serving milk and biscuits or bun snack apart from those serving both is 20. The total number of children receiving a hot meal is approximately 1,250 or 6% of the estimated school population. (p. 3)

My own experience as a volunteer teacher every

Thursday at St. Louis R.C. primary school in St. George's town, provided different perspectives on the school feeding programmes. Only once or twice during Thursdays of the two months that I worked in the school were the children provided with anything similar to the programmes mentioned previously. I did observe students receiving a cup of powdered milk prepared by volunteers in a kitchen. Perhaps the irregularity of the feeding was due to volunteer involvement with the programme; perhaps it was difficult to find people who could regularly commit the time to prepare and serve the milk to several hundred children at the school; perhaps their feeding programmes occurred on other days of the week when I was not present..

Review of the Education Act

One of the last educational areas to be re-examined by the PRG was the 1976 Grenada Education Act. This review process was initiated in 1983 and was interrupted by the political turmoil ("Indies Times," Vol. 1, #3, April 21, 1984).

Curriculum Development Within Formal School Settings

Unfortunately, during the collecting of data regarding formal curricular development, only very few references surfaced. Certainly the Curriculum Development and

Materials Production unit of the Ministry of Education did exist, although with the exception of the Work Study Approach for Community Education report, no other curricular documents produced by that unit were located. The vast array of curriculum units produced by the PRG for adult education were attributed to the Centre for Popular Education.

Curricular change within schools seemed to be a later priority, after adult education. During a conversation with Rupert Gilbert, a Guyanese tutor with the Teachers' College (renamed the National In-Service Teacher Education Programme), he referred to two phases of curricular development: 1981-82, Language Arts and Maths; 1982-83, Science and Social Studies. Confirmation of Language Arts curricular work appeared with two resources for primary schools: the Marryshow Readers and a booklet Poems for Children.

It was the "Free West Indian" which presented an article featuring NISTEP tutor Merle Hodge and introduced her new educational resources: the Marryshow Readers, authored by Hodge, herself. The article also pointed out many insightful aspects of the new readers. They were written in Grenada, but were to be printed in Cuba, thereby reducing the cost so that each Grenadian child could be promised his or her own reading book.

The Marryshow Readers offered stories which reflected the Grenadian context; the readers were designed to

overcome the images of nuclear family, sex stereotyping, and consumerism inherent in Caribbean-based readers. Hodge hoped that the orientations in the readers would help Grenadians to overcome a "deep-seated inferiority complex...[that] my world is not like the good world I see in books" (FWI, Vol. 3, #45, p. 6).

Hodge recognized the crucial role that books could play in reinforcing the familiar and creating new values. She wanted her literature to be part of the process of change in society. She informed the Grenadian people that these readers would reinforce productive work such as in gardens; emphasis would be placed on the value of cooperation and non-sexist work. Attendance at school would be stressed in poems and even the habit of eating imported foods on Sundays (not local fish and bananas) would be frowned upon.

Hodge had selected a Creole grammatical pattern for the texts, which she hoped would form a framework more familiar to students from which to arrange the mostly Standard English vocabulary. Merle Hodge believed that the change in the linguistic structure would cause a "significant improvement in our children's mastery of English" (FWI, Vol. 3, #45, p. 3).

The texts were just in draft form when the FWI reported and they were yet to be piloted. Hodge predicted that the Infant and Standard I students would be using the reading scheme by the Fall, 1982 and would have their

Marryshow Readers by September, 1983. The older grades would in the two following years, receive theirs. The unfortunate events of October, 1983 (the overthrow of the PRG by a military coup and then USA and Caribbean force intervention) obviously interrupted this schedule. Merle Hodge currently works out of the University of West Indies in Barbados. (Personal Communication with former Permanent Secretary of Education, Didacus Jules, Fall, 1986.)

The other language arts resource for primary schools prepared after the revolution was Poems for Children by Renalph M. Gebon, who for over 40 years had been a prominent Grenadian teacher, principal and poet. Gebon, interviewed again in the "Free West Indian" (Vol. 2, #49, pp. 22-23), gave this reason for writing Grenadian-based poems:

> I thought that the rhymes we teachers used with the children must always be local, so as to make sense to them and talk about real things. It was retarding them mentally just to fill their minds with English nursery rhymes that they didn't understand.

Gebon's poems are a delight and in Appendix C I have included "Fred Dee Dread," "The Coals Burner," and "Fruits." The collection of the poems was mimeographed by the Teachers' College, NISTEP production unit, under the direction of Chris Searle and were made available to primary teachers. Searle played a significant role in publicizing these new resources, as he was the author of

both the articles in the "Free West Indian" featuring Merle Hodge and Renalph Gebon.

Secondary Schools: Important Sites for Political Change

A picture, albeit a scant one, of the curricular offering within secondary schools was attained through visiting the Grenada Boys' Secondary School and the new secondary school opened by the PRG, the Bernadette Bailey Secondary School. Generally, the subjects offered were: literature, geography, history, social studies, mathematics, integrated science, French, Spanish, and every other year, industrial arts. (Personal communication with Elizabeth Henry, October 27, 1981).

Secondary schools were seen by the PRG as important sites for support of the revolution, due to the political activism of youth. Teachers sympathetic to the revolution were placed in the top administrative postions such as principals or headmasters. This was also true, wherever possible, in primary schools as well.

Curricular change within the secondary schools seemed to focus on the subsititution of Caribbean based Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) examinations for the British General Certificate of Education (GCE) O Level examinations. By December 1982, entry forms for both examinations were advertised in the "Free West Indian." CXC examination fees were slightly lower. An article in

the June 23, 1982 "Free West Indian" reported that 12 Secondary Schools had participated in the writing of CXC exams, with 369 candidates writing 574 subjects, whereas 1734 students wrote over 5,563 GCE O and A Levels. The same article reported on the Ministry of Education Examinations Officer's views of CXC. He stated that "in the next year [1983] schools will have to decide which of the two examinations, CXC or General Certificate Examinations (GCE), their pupils will write." He also stated that by 1985 the Ministry would like to have GCE phased out, when the CXC will be offering all subjects GCE has.

The method of evaluating students differed between the two programmes. GCE exams provided full evaluation of the students, whereas the CXC offered to students evaluation in subjects such as agricultural science, integrated science, Caribbean history, typewriting, home economics, and industrial arts, wherein a portion of the mark was based on a school assessment. The in-school evaluation required practical and coursework not currently needed by GCE O and A Level examinations. This change in curriculum the Examinations Officer noted, would entail greater expense and better teacher training.

Developments in Science Curriculum

Curricular development in science and agriculture seemed to be an objective that had received some attention. A National Science Council had been formed that was to assist in curricular development. A science instuctor at the Grenada Teacher's College and a scientist at a local "Science Produce Laboratory" were two members of the council. It was hoped that the council would offer locally-based and relevant aspects to the syllabus in place.

It seemed, however, that the biology, chemistry, and physics syllabi were still unaffected by the council's work, likely due to the fact that it was in a formative stage when the information was gathered. Syllabi attained from science teachers in two secondary schools were still very much oriented toward preparation for the British O Level examinations and made no reference to Grenadian examples. In biology, an ecology unit did offer to students an opportunity for local field work, but the syllabus made no reference to tropical ecosystems. That was the only locality specific reference; frequently these syllabi did suggest the inclusion of local practical examples, but without offering any. However, the syllabi were not riddled with examples specific to the United Kingdom only. The biology syllabus had merely one example that specifically referred to a disease within rabbits of

the United Kingdom.

Developments in Agricultural Science Curricula

For the secondary students, who had been locked into a GCE O Level oriented curriculum for year, recent changes regionally in the Caribbean had brought in to place a Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC). It offered a "Secondary Education Certificate" syllabus and examination. Adoption of the new curriculum was not immediate. A secondary school principal at Sauteurs described the piloting of the CXC agricultural science curriculum and exam, and was very concerned that the students "meet the standard" that was established in Grenada with the GCE examinations. After the results of the examination were released, however, he was prepared to adopt the CXC curriculum for his secondary school agricultural programme. (Personal communication with Mr. Adams of MacDonald College, August 26, 1982.)

Certainly, in the agricultural science course, change was felt at the primary level as well. In 1978, a new agricultural science syllabus had been implemented in primary and junior secondary schools. An explanatory note at the beginning of the syllabus pointed out that this subject was familiar, on the main, to the teachers: "Much of this [the syllabus] follows the pattern of work done under the heading 'Nature Study' and as such, is not

entirely new to Schools" (Syllabus of Work, Agricultural Science, p.1).

The main programme objectives described in the syllabus were:

1. To create in pupils an awareness of their environment and the great contribution that Agriculture is making, and can continue to make to the Nation's economy.

2. To equip pupils with knowledge, skills and concepts that will enable them to make use of scientific and technical methods in increasing and improving production.

3. To project farming as a viable enterprise like other business enterprises to that it would be seen as just another way of life not something to be scorned or ignored and left to the people of low academic standing in the society.

4. To provide a useful and beneficial way of spending one's spare time. People of other fields of endeavour may find Agriculture to be a useful past time exercise. (p. 1)

The syllabus recommended that "the school farm or school garden would be an area of great importance to the success of the programme. Besides being an area of production, it would be the laboratory for experiments and observations and as such garden exercises should be done in the usual classroom or learning atmosphere" (p. 1). Recommended texts included several based in the Caribbean. The course outline contained both theoretical and practical

suggestions on many topics: seeds, plant propogation, irrigation, livestock, soil, fertilizers, conservation, breeding systems, and farm machinery. An agricultural science curriculum specialist with the Ministry of Education indicated that the 1978 syllabus would be revised in early 1982, by holding a seminar with teachers of the course. He stated that a process approach would be incorporated in the new syllabus. His concern was that the current programme did not meet needs in the revolutionary society; it did not include foresty, fisheries, nor agro-industries (personal communication with Mr. Wilfred Jones).

During a few very brief visits to primary classrooms, it did appear that agricultural science was taught in the schools. While meeting with an agricultural science teacher at St. Patrick's R. C. School, in Sauteurs, the teacher, Cde. David, described the objectives, the activities, and some of the problems with this course at his school:

Objectives

1. To create awareness of the importance of agricultural production in students.
2. To develop agricultural skills in pupils.
3. To develop responsible behaviours in pupils.
4. To gain some finances for the school.

Activities

1. Cultivating and breaking the soil.
2. Preparing seed beds and boxes.
3. Planting, watering, and weeding.
4. Harvesting.

Problem areas

1. Motivating students to participate.
2. Involving and motivating teachers to utilize the school garden.
3. Larceny.
4. Forty minute periods that were too short to present a suitable activity for pupils.
5. Parental attitudes toward agricultural labour that were often negative.

Cde. David described how agricultural courses were approached by the teachers. Each teacher presented agricultural science theory to his or her class, but Cde. David, himself, took them out to the school garden for practical activities. He stated that a large component of the course material was theoretical, but that attempts were being made to follow up the theory with practical examples. The reverse approach of practical preceeding theoretical had also been tried. Evaluations had followed the courses. Through an informal survey, Cde. David had found that the pupils and parents were supportive of the agricultural science programme, but that teachers lacked interest and

motivation. He rationalized that because teachers lacked training in agriculture, they lacked confidence in their capabilities to do a good job at the course and thus showed little enthusiasm.

Solutions for the problems with the course were mentioned:

1. Fencing for larceny.

2. Build awareness in the community of the role that the school gardens played.

3. Time table revisions.

4. Teacher inservice on agricultural science.

5. Consideration of subject specialization for teachers in the primary schools.

It was believed that by building up their teaching skills in agricultural science, the teachers would gain greater self-confidence toward the subject. The in-service could be approached in two ways: (a) through offering of two or three week summer sessions at a Grenadian agricultural school (Mirabeau), or (b) through in-service training--a one day workshop once or twice a month. It would be less disruptive to the school schedule if these workshops were to be held in each parish, on the same day as other in-service programmes.

The first option seemed to be the most likely, because agricultural science summer courses were currently in place. It would just be a matter of expanding them.

However, problems existed with it. Teachers were reluctant to register for courses during their summer holidays. To avoid this, the course would have to occur just before the fall term started. Currently, there seemed to be a core of teachers who returned year after year, who were becoming a group of competent and well trained agricultural science teachers, but their number was not growing. Some sort of incentive was needed to motivate more teachers to attend the course. Even now the class was not filled to capacity. The possibility of financial reward for attending the course was raised.

The second suggestion, that workshops be conducted within the parish, seemed to be the better solution. Through workshops, greater numbers of Grenadian teachers could be involved on a long term basis, in a work-study approach. Twenty sessions, if they were organized on a rotary basis, could be set up so that each school garden in the parish could host a session at least once in the school year.

It was suggested that the Ministry of Agriculture extension officers could be resource persons for the workshops, along with Ministry of Education agricultural curriculum officers. (These comments were the result of an interview with Cde. David on November 24, 1981.)

On August 10, 1982, I was invited to visit the agricultural science teachers' training course held for

certified teachers at Mirabeau Agricultural Centre. The one or two week course had an attendance of roughly fifteen classroom teachers staying in residence at Mirabeau. The teachers utilized agricultural plots and classroom space at the Centre for their programme. The instructors were agronomists at Mirabeau as well as agricultural science officers from the Ministry of Education. The day that I attended the course, the topic of the day was plant pathology. Since I was a biology teacher, I was invited to present a lecture on viral, bacterial and fungal microbiology. Following that presentation, we walked out to the fields to collect plant material that would exhibit infections caused by some of the microbes I had described in the lecture. We examined black pod in cocoa, fungal rot in carrots, and vascular fungal rot in tomatoes.

Only two of the teachers were female. All but one of them were from Grenada, with the other from Carriacou. One of the students was very interested in my knowledge of Biology because he was soon going to be writing his GCE A Level examinations. He was quite frustrated that I would not be visiting the island longer, and would be unable to tutor him and help him prepare for the examination.

Agricultural Training Centres

By interviewing Sister Caroline Davis of the Ministry

of Education on August 25, 1982, insights were gained about actual Ministry proposals for agricultural curricula. She described plans for centralized agricultural science facilities that would service primary and secondary schools in an area. Students would be transported to the centres for their agriculture sessions. A pilot of this model was to be set up at Beausejour estate once funding was identified. The programme would be oriented toward the CXC examination syllabus. There could be as many as five primary schools with Standards 5 and 6, as well as six secondary schools with Forms 3, 4, and 5 students attending. To rationalize transportation, all students from the same school would visit the facility in one day. Sister Davis emphasized that this programme was not oriented toward school leavers.

Agricultural Training Centre Production of Food for School Meals Programmes

Agricultural training centres were not simply to be sites of agricultural education, but would also have an important function to produce food stuff for consumption in the school meals programmes outlined earlier in this chapter. A project proposal for non-governmental agency funding of an agricultural training centre suggested for Beausejour estate made these statements with regard to food

production:

> The food produced will be green and yellow vegetables, fruits, pulses, poultry, pigs, goats, sheep and rabbits, staple starchy roots and fruits. The produce of the Centers will be the property of the Ministry of Education and this would be collected and channelled into the School Meals Programme. Surplus will be sold in the open market and to the Government Marketing Board Centers to help meet the cost of production. It is necessary to include livestock not simply for training purposes but also for limited supply to the schools and ensuring that the students indeed are exposed to the full CXC curriculum requirement. (Agricultural Training and School Meals Production project proposal, p. 4)

With the establishment of these agricultural science training centres, the PRG would have actualized part of their hope for work-study approach in their schools.

Summary

The preceeding section of the chapter has introduced a wide array of educational changes that the PRG brought about in the primary and secondary school settings. A variety of programmes such as increasing the enrolment in secondary schools and removing school fees were very popular with the Grenadian people. Efforts were made to introduce the CXC examinations to replace the British-based GCE O and A Levels. Curricular changes included introduction of language arts texts written in Grenada and published with the assistance of Cuba, the Marryshow

Readers. Agricultual science, because of its relationship with increased agricultural production on Grenada was also an area which received attention both by introduction of the CXC syllabus and by providing teacher inservice. Plans for school meals programmes in primary schools were closely linked with agricultual education projects in the schools.

Educational Changes by the PRG in Adult and Community Education

The PRG focused considerable attention on training schools in both agriculture and fisheries for unemployed youth who would, after having finished their training, be absorbed into the cooperative sector or work on state enterprises.

Mirabeau Agricultural Training School

Prior to the revolution, an agricultural school operated at Mirabeau. The Mirabeau Agricultural Training School (MATS) had been established since 1970, and was noted for its occasional acceptance of students from the Caribbean region. However, it had not functioned in any semblance of full capacity during the '70's, having graduated 48 students in only three 6 month to one year programmes. Getting MATS into full operation was a major

priority of the PRG. An April 3, 1982 edition of the "Free West Indian" stated that the MATS programme offered a one year course which included: animal science, plant propogation, crop-rotation, and vegetable and food production. The envrolment was fifty students including fifteen women. Plans to expand the facility were hindered by fire which destroyed the major instructional building. It had been hoped that the capacity of MATS would be doubled by September 1983 and that extension of the course to two years would enable the school to approach the University of West Indies for recognition of its certificate.

La Sagesse Agricultural Training School

The La Sagesse Agricultural Training School was opened in late June, 1982 with fifty students in residence over a twelve week programme. Because the school also had a broad land base of thrity-two acres, the students were involved in both theoretical and practical classes. The centre was directed by four graduates of the Mirabeau Centre and lectures were presented by persons with expertise from across Grenada. I was fortunate to have observed at La Sagesse during a lecture on fertilizers offered by one of the cooperative officers, Andrew James.

The La Sagesse school was described in the "Free West

Indian" as: "The first such [school] to be opened by the PRG as part of its systematic attempt to reduce unemployment through boosting agricultural production" (FWI, Vol. 3, #32, p. 7). Students at La Sagesse received a monthly wage for their participation in the programme.

Fisheries Schools

Scant information was available concerning the Grenada Fisheries School in True Blue. However, a "Free West Indian" article published in January, 1982 described some aspects of the programme. Started in 1980, the programme enrolled fifteen students for a five month course. The topics studied were: mathematics, history, biology, Spanish, English, political science, cooperative functions, and navigation, as well as others. At the time the article was written, four classes of students had completed their training. It was at the 1982 graduation ceremonies that the Prime Minister pointed out the valuable economic contribution the graduates offered to Grenada by modernizing the old ways of the fishermen.

Training for Health Professions

Nursing, midwifery, and orderly training were also offered in Grenada at the St. George's General Hospital.

The "on-the-job" training programme had graduated 123 nurses by 1982, but without any budget with which to operate the programme.

Other Programmes

The Ministry of Education, often in conjunction with other ministries, frequently offered a variety of short courses to Grenadians. One example was a three month Art Training Seminar for twenty school leavers in the parish of St. Andrew's during the summer of 1982. The course was co-sponsored by the Organization of American States.

The national organizations also sponsored special study programmes with their members. Minister of Education, Jacqueline Creft, in a 1981 speech described the National Youth Organisation which involved youths from 15 years of age to their late twenties. Studying, analysis of their society, development of organizational skills, and specific nation building tasks were included in the NYO programmes.

Minister Creft also clearly stated that the National Women's Organisation was "putting into practice mass education for women" (Grenada is not Alone, 1982:5). She declared that over 3000 women had been involved in seminars and courses discussing topics such as: Grenada's history, economy, world history and international affairs, women's

role in a pre- and revolutionary society, education and People's Power, methods of organizing, maternity rights, and first aid training. Creft also mentioned that a high priority was placed upon meeting the needs of rural women, especially women agricultural and general workers. She concluded that the impact of the programmes on women's participation in the workplace, in leadership, and in their own self confidence was one of the most commendable aspects of the revolutionary process in Grenada.

Another educational programme was the worker education classes, which by November, 1981, were taking place in 45 workplaces in 24 communities in Grenada. Selwyn Strachan, the Minister of National Mobilization, stated that the objective of the programme was to have workers discuss and analyze recent history, especially from 1951 onwards, and to examine the development of struggles of the working class and the Grenadian people.

On October 20, 1981, I was invited to attend a "socialism class" held weekly in the late afternoon for Grenadian civil servants at a local school in St. George's. About 36 people were present, one third of them women, a couple with small children. The main feature of the session was a film in Spanish called, "A Big Revolution in a Small Country." It was a Cuban film produced about the revolution in Grenada. It discussed the period in Grenada from 1979 to 1980. Following the film, quite a discussion

ensued which probed the main characteristics of the revolution in Grenada. Counter-revolution was an important topic, as well as improvements in schooling and health care, National Marketing Board, Labour Negotiations Board, the role of teachers in the revolution, the June 19, 1981 bombing at a rally in Queen's Park, and the possibility of US intervention to halt their revolution.

The teacher who had invited me to attend the class was an expatriat from New York who was a tutor in Education at NISTEP. He spoke up freely and frequently provided his comments on points of political theory or the international perspective. I was also asked to explain the reasons for my visit to Grenada.

The class ended with quite an elaborate discussion of US imperialism and the role of war in capitalistic countries undergoing economic recession. Mention was made of the neutron bomb, which was seen as the perfect capitalistic weapon. The possibility of invasion of Grenada was examined in view of the diplomatic and economic offensive Grenada was receiving internationally. It was described to the group how Grenada was building respect and support among communist countries, socialist parties, and liberation forces. Discussion also moved to the regional scene where mention was made of the right to strike removed recently from St. Vincent workers.

The class concluded with assignment of volunteers to

community work brigades for the next Thursday and Sunday. The next meeting would involve the viewing of a slide show produced about the Grenadian revolution: "In Nobody's Backyard."

A final comment on the socialism classes is necessary. One of the cadre who worked with the cooperative movement provided me with mimeographed sheets which were used as handouts in another socialism class that he attended. It was a 19 page long introduction to "Classes and the Class Struggle," and appeared to have been prepared for use initially in Guyana, for reference was made to the People's Progressive Party and various situations in Guyana. Following standard Marxist-Leninist tenets, the lesson was very straight-forward and easily read.

Educational Messages as Part of Popular Culture

Before moving this discussion of educational efforts made by the PRG to an examination of the three main educational projects that were undertaken (see Chapter V), the final portion of this chapter will summarize broad educational projects that affected Grenadians in their popular culture.

Education...Let Out of Its Cage...

Radical educators who visited and wrote about Grenada found the overwhelming ambience of the revolutionary society to have an amazing impact. Brent Harold was just such an educator. His comments, initially very positive, became much more cautionary as he talked with reticent individuals who held their own concerns about the changes in Grenada. He observed that "everything looks like education--or like propaganda, depending upon one's perspective" ("Radical Teacher," #25:29-30). Harold further commented upon the many educational facets of the community: slogans on walls and billboards--"Work harder, Produce more, Build free Grenada,", "Education is Production, Too."

This ambience contrasted sharply with a US-based cultural "atmosphere" that Grenadian people and their visitors experienced through a variety of media. Regular T.V. broadcasts from other Caribbean countries presented a range of popular programmes including anything from "Dukes of Hazzard" to "Muppets" movies. Cinemas screened mostly US-produced films, unfortunately many of an outdated, trashy skin-flick variety, but some were of the Kung Fu genre, with the occasional quality film. A variety of American newsmagazines were widely available such as "Newsweek" and "Time." They frequently featured articles

opposing the Grenadian revolution.

Evening and Saturday films were very well attended, the theatres were packed with young people, all extremely engaged (visually and vocally) with the presentation. Not the same response was received by a political and cultural Cuban film festival sponsored by the Ministry of Education and the Cuban Embassy. I was astonished by the poor attendance at the five films that I attended. It seemed to be a "non-event" to the Grenadian people. Sports events such as boxing, cricket matches, soccer, and netball were always well attended.

By contrast, any visitor, myself included, was wrapped in a collage of revolutionary culture--calypsos, poems, songs, skits, and plays--performed on T.V., Radio, and at public events, all heralding the PRG's new directions to life in Grenada. Massive rallies, which drew up to 20,000 people, often became educational platforms for new policies or explanations of directions taken by the PRG. Selwyn Strachan, Minister of National Mobilization made these comments about the role of rallies: "This is where our people learn about subjects that vary from co-operatives to family planning to the dangers of venereal disease--to the struggles of the people of El Salvador, Chile, Vietnam, Namibia, South Africa, the Western Sahara, and Palestine" (Grenada Is Not Alone, 1982:91).

Revolutionary messages carried with them a certain

context that was reinforced over and over again to the Grenadian people. One aspect of it was a new set of societal heroes which fit the genre of "people's struggle." Persons who were granted this status were figures from Grenada's history who had struggled against slavery or British Colonialism such as Fedon and Marryshow, or were victims of violence during the struggle against former Prime Minister E.M. Gairy. Rupert Bishop and Jerimiah Richardson were examples of the latter. Figures involved with revolutionary struggle in other countries such as Jose Marti or Che Guevara were also adopted by the PRG as worthy of emulation.

The Grenadian hero, Julien Fedon became the namesake of an annual weekend army and militia manoeuvres. The anniversary of the date of Rupert Bishop's death, Bloody Monday, became annually a day of commemoration of the sacrifices made to build the Grenadian revolution. The date of the death of Jeremiah Richardson, victim of violence from E.M. Gairy's policemen, was annually observed by a political rally sponsored by the PRG. Jose Marti's vision of students who would work in the fields in the morning and move to their pens and studies in the afternoon served as an inspiration for the Minister of Education, Jacqueline Creft.

The Press

The weekly newspaper in Grenada during the revolution, "Free West Indian," was predominantly a PRG forum cover to cover, containing only snippets of criticism in the letters to the editor. Mostly it covered, in glowing accounts, PRG sponsored events: trips by the ministers to supportive countries; newly acquired material or financial assistance; visits to Grenada of delegations from sympathetic countries; conferences, conventions, events sponsored by the PRG; meetings, rallies, marches, maneouvers organized by the PRG organs: the NYO, the NWO, and the PRA; openings, emulation ceremonies, and graduations of programmes sponsored by the PRG; fragments of speeches made by ministers; and of course a small portion devoted to commercial and sports interests. All writers were supporters of the revolution and were often party cadre. The international news presented in the FWI covered liberation struggles against US imperialism, decolonization struggles, black liberation movements, and updates on socialist and communist countries. In the issues that I examined critical mention was never made of the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan nor positive coverage of the Solidarity movement in Poland, although the paper strongly supported the Nicaraguan revolution and endorsed the FMLN armed struggle in El Salvador.

Another weekly newspaper, the "Torchlight" which took a strong stance against Prime Minister E.M. Gairy prior to the revolution, was shut down by the PRG in October, 1979 because of its consistently anti-socialist and anti-Cuban position. This action raised very serious questions about the integrity of the PRG, regionally. A Grenadian journalist, Alister Hughes, also suffered censorship under the PRG. Thorndike (1985:114) reported Hughes' treatment of "a short spell of house arrest, temporary confiscation of property and general harassment." Although unable to publish within Grenada, Hughes' monthly reports on events in Grenada contained in the University of Puerto Rico "Caribbean Monthly Bulletin" served as a continuous account of events in Grenada throughout the period of this study. Grenadians that I met in Alberta who generally supported Maurice Bishop relied heavily on the journalistic integrity of Alister Hughes' reporting. (Personal communication with Regan Nedd, Fall, 1982.) By 1981, Hughes was viewed by the PRG as an agent anxious to destabilize the revolution because of his support, along with 25 others, of another oppositional newspaper, "The Grenadian Voice." It was quickly shut down by the PRG after one issue and its publisher detained.

Publications Produced by the PRG

A publishing house taken over by the PRG, Fedon Publishers; with it and the government print shop many texts were produced which became representative of the Grenadian revolution. Several of the publications were anthologies of poetry: Tongues of the New Dawn (1981) and Freedom Has No Price (1980). Others were collections of speeches by the Prime Minister or other leading ministers: Education is Production Too (1981), Grenada Is Not Alone (1981), National Reconstruction in the Grenadian Revolution (1980), A United Conscious Organized Vigalent People Can Never Be Defeated (1980).

Two of the most important publications from Fedon Publishers were collections of speeches, interviews, poems, and comments from both prominent and humble Grenadians about their experience of the revolution. In the Spirit of Butler (1982) presented trade unionism in free Grenada; Is Freedom We Making (not dated but most likely 1982) written by Merle Hodge and Chris Searle presented reflections on the new democracy in Grenada. Prime Minister Bishop commented that Is Freedom We Making: "...represents the type and quality of material we would like to see not just read but used in our education system" (Education is Production Too, 1981:3).

Changes in Civic Events

Public holidays and dates commemorated by government were revised by the PRG. March 13th, the anniversary date of the Revolution, became the most celebrated public event, acquiring international significance. The date of the death of Maurice Bishop's father, Rupert Bishop, became Bloody Monday. The date of the dreadful death of schoolgirls from a bombing intended for the revolutionary leadership during a large rally at Queen's Park became known as Bloody Sunday. Both events were occasioned with marches and rallies each year.

May Day became a day to recognize labour and unions; International Women's Day became a time of women's gatherings and marches; even World Food Day received its fair share of speeches and agricultural exhibits focusing on educational programmes which could improve production. Certainly traditional celebrations associated with the Church calendar were observed, but these did not receive support and were not sanctioned by the PRG the way their newly developed events did.

Summary

This chapter has presented a broad set of observations about the educational situation inherited by the PRG and

the vast array of changes that were brought into both formal and non-formal settings by the new revolutionary government. The following chapter will present the three main educational programmes developed by the PRG: the National In-Sevice Teacher Education Programme, the Community School Day Programme, and the Centre for Popular Education.

CHAPTER FIVE

THREE MAJOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES INTRODUCED BY THE PRG

National In-Service Teacher Education Programme

Programme Rationale

The PRG's earliest and most significant educational change involved teacher training. In the fall of 1980, a National In-Service Teacher Education Programme (NISTEP) was established, through the revamping of the old curriculum for teacher training offered at the Grenada Teachers' College in Tempe, St. George's.

This teacher training programme emphasized in-service training of teachers, replacing the in-college orientation of the previous curriculum. Gumbs (1982:239) mentioned that the in-service training dealt with "the same subject matter [as the in-college programme], but was geared to increased training and more professional contacts with the classroom situation." The PRG aimed to train over 600 persons who were currently involved with teaching in the classrooms in Grenada. They hoped that the work-study approach would offer to the NISTEP participants the opportunity to continue with their classroom duties and attend classes through NISTEP. With only 30% of all primary teachers certified and classrooms swollen with

students, the NISTEP programme appeared to be the innovation which could accomodate the pressing need for education in the revolutionary society. Through several interviews with tutors of the NISTEP programme, and by evaluation of many articles used in their course of studies, a composite picture of the programme was developed.

About 500 NISTEP students were involved with the programme at three centres: St. George's, Grenville, and Carriacou. The NISTEP students carried on with their regular teaching duties during four of the five teaching days in the week. During their training day, a community volunteer assumed their classroom duties while the NISTEP students attended classes at the centre nearest to them. The programme lasted three years, and included some sessions during school holidays.

Announced in the "Free West Indian" of October, 1982 was a new programme associated with NISTEP, training for early childhood educators. That programme was to be a two year "on-the-job" approach to be held not at the Teachers' College, but in St. David's and St. Andrew's parishes.

NISTEP Director: Chris Searle

The core of the NISTEP programme was its tutors, for the first two years under the directorship of Chris Searle,

a British educator with experience in developing educational systems in revolutionary societies. Searle became influential in directing educational change in Grenada. He recently wrote of his involvement in Grenada (Words Unchained: Language and Revolution in Grenada, 1984b). Biographical notes about Chris Searle in another recent book of his, Grenada: The Struggle Against Destabilization (1983), presents an impressive array of other works he has published. (Quoted from the back cover.)

> Chris Searle is an English writer, teacher and poet who worked for two years as a teacher-educator in Grenada. He has written such works as The Forsaken Lover: White Words and Black People, which won the Martin Luther King Award in 1972, Classrooms of Resistance (1975), The World in a Classroom (1977), a collection of short stories The Black Man of Shadwell (1976), and We're Building the New School! (1981) about a secondary school in Mozambique. His poems are included in Mainland (1974), Red Earth (1980), and Common Ground (1983). Sunflower of Hope (1982) is his collection of translated poems about the Mozambican Revolution.

Chris Searle also served the valuable role of presenting the Grenadian revolution--it's leadership, it's programmes, it's successes, to the Grenadian community as a writer in the "Free West Indian" and to a wider development community, especially in Britain. Several times he conducted interviews with Maurice Bishop or other ministers in the PRG that were published in issues of Race and Class (Vol. XXV, 3(1984); Vol. XXI, 2(1979)).

The Curriculum

Topics covered in the NISTEP curriculum were in the first two years: language arts, mathematics, and education methods; in the third year: science, social studies, agricultural science, and health education.

The NISTEP curriculum tried to follow standard teacher education programmes, especially that offered at the University of West Indies (UWI), to enable students completing the third year of the NISTEP to qualify with the UWI by writing their educational certification examination. If NISTEP participants successfully completed that examination, they would then be granted a two year teaching certificate from UWI.

Therefore, it was not surprising to discover that the NISTEP educational documents, used as the foundation of their programme in the 1981-2 term, included such standard topics as: domains of learning, lesson planning and behavioural objectives, teaching methodologies, evaluation and test construction, the hidden curriculum, use of audio visual aids, suggestions for physical education, tools of educational research, educational psychology, and others. Please note that a list of all documents collected from NISTEP are listed in Appendix A.

Unfortunately, insufficient data was gathered to provide a detailed analysis of the content of revolutionary Grenada's

teacher education programme. However, there is evidence that discussion of several of the pressing issues outlined in the PRG policy statements mentioned earlier, as well as standard topics, did ensue.

Teacher-Trainees' Perceptions of Education in Grenada

The preliminary class session of the NISTEP course was a group discussion of the following questions:

> What do you understand by the term education? What were the West Indian planters' attitudes towards education - and why? One of the circumstances of slavery was that the slave workers are kept ignorant. Why do you think that was so? How are literacy and social consciousness connected? What was in plantation life that promoted illiteracy? Why is there a need for a Centre for Popular Education (CPE) in Grenada? (NISTEP Synthesis of Group Reports by Teacher-Trainees Submitted to Education Courses, p.1)

Responses to the questions attained from the teacher-trainees were synthesized into a report and included as part of their programme. Their comments described in the report suggest that the NISTEP teacher-trainees had these beliefs: education served to maintain the oppressive plantation society of early Grenada; illiteracy was one factor of several that maintained slavery in the Caribbean; the colonial education system reinforced western values and devalued African culture and language; Grenada's current education system

still bows to neo-colonial influences; by creating a Centre for Popular Education, Grenada could gain better control over its education system and utilize it for positive development; many myths about education persist in Grenadian society and hinder its overcoming under-development (e.g.: education equals intelligence; those who have not gained certification are deemed "failures.") (NISTEP Synthesis of Group Reports by Teacher-Trainees Submitted to Education Courses, summarized from p. 2 - 7)

NISTEP Curricular Resources

Articles used by tutors in the NISTEP programme had been reproduced from various educational journals and texts originating in the United States, Britain, and in African countries. They provided further exploration of critical themes. Through these readings the NISTEP participants were able to reflect upon the following topics (there could have been many others that documentation was not attained for): (a) Black English dialect with suggestions for classroom activities for students who speak it, (b) the use of a "language experience approach" for teaching linguistically diverse learners, and (c) suggestions about how to effectively teach English grammar.

Two other NISTEP handouts are of particular interest

because of their specific Grenadian focus. The first was a language arts module produced by a NISTEP tutor that described how to broach the question of language, and its links with colonialism and oppression in the Caribbean. (See Appendix D for the full module.) The second was an interview with Sir Edward Braithwaite conducted by NISTEP director Chris Searle on Aug. 30th, 1980 in London, England (Searle, Race and Class, XII(4)). This most interesting interview centres on the role of language in British colonial society and it's evolving revolutionary context. Several significant points are made by Sir Braithwaite:

1. That because of the British colonialisation arrangement, English was the lingua franca and African languages and their creole forms were a submerged form that maintained "revolt possibilities."

2. That in time, English language and images became the only valued form.

3. That the acquiring of English vocabulary, especially that of "Primitive Christianity" added to the slaves' natural conception of rebellion.

4. That "decolonisation [of Grenadian language] would mean that we would have the freedom to use the full range of English, that is not only provincial English and vernacular Englishes, but also our own forms of English...dialect."

5. That the submerged Caribbean people have used their

body language, music, poetry, calypso, theatrical arts, and other forms to communicate with other people.

6. That "the nation language will absorb the language of science and ideas just as easily as English or any of the European languages. All languages are capable of dealing with their own environment, which is really what science is about."

7. "A liberation struggle, by changing the structures of the environment, that is to say by changing the structure of people's relationships with each other and changing the relationship of people to authority, creates the opportunity for a great deal of underground power to come forth. Now when that power comes forth we have the responsibility of recognizing and using it. Very often we be come afraid of it, and after the first explosion we try to control it and re-submerge it. I [Braithwaite] think the tragedy of a lot of liberation movements is that after the first hundred days, things have gone back to being as conservative as ever."

8. That the geography and the nature of the Grenadian society led to a pooling of talent which became a revolutionary force.

9. Teachers play a key role in the revolutionary society. They can assist youth to gain a sense of themselves, how their local communities came to being, and how their families and communities developed. (p. 389-392)

Reaction of NISTEP Teacher-Trainees to the Programme

Unfortunately, aside from the perusal of this variety of articles used for discussion papers in the NISTEP curriculum, and the report of their concerns with regard to pressing issues perceived by the PRG, very little opportunity was gained to interview NISTEP teacher-trainees directly. To a certain extent, they became potential agents for revolutionary change within a very static educational system.

Although not discussed anywhere in the Grenadian press nor other writings, there evolved a problem with high drop-out of teacher-trainees. The programme began with somewhere around 500 participants but by the beginning of the 3rd year, October 1982, only 380 were involved. The "Indies Times" reported in April, 1984 that 250 teachers successfully completed the NISTEP programme in August, 1983. For some reason or other, about half of the initial registrants had dropped-out along the way.

When I returned to Canada and kept in touch with the Grenadian community on the prairies, eventually I met someone who could shed some light on the problem. Not all trainees fell into a role which supported the revolutionary movement. A Grenadian NISTEP teacher-trainee who emigrated to Canada, dropping out of the programme, had this to say

about his experience. He recounted that the majority of schools in Grenada were church-based institutions. Although non-certified, he felt that he was assisting the Christian movement when he was an effective classroom teacher. He felt that his teaching role was to instill codes of conduct, cleanliness, and even how to treat one's parents. He felt that he would have supported the Revolutionary movement, had he personally felt harshly treated by Prime Minister Gairy. However, neither he, nor his family, nor his friends, had been thus afflicted. He expressed that the success of the PRG could lead to conflicts with himself and his class. The potential failure of the PRG, and the disposing of revolutionary supporters by the replacement government, led to his cautious maintenance of the status quo and his insistance that he would not go "whole hog over the revolution." When an opportunity arose for him to emigrate to Canada, it was without hesitation that he did so. (Personal communication with S. Andrews, Summer, 1982)

Summary

In this section, an examination of the National In-Service Teacher Education Programme (NISTEP) has revealed the importance that the PRG placed upon having certified teachers for Grenadian schools. Although the PRG

placed expatriat revolutionary sympathizers (with definite educational expertise) in the role of tutors of NISTEP, an important indication of the success of the programme was whether the participants would be successful candidates for the University of West Indies teacher certification examinations at the end of the programme. Therefore, although documentation received from the 1981-2 NISTEP term revealed some discussion of the pressing issues the PRG wished examined in the school system, standard topics for teacher education (Blooms' Taxonomy, lesson planning, English grammar teaching methologies, etc.) were by far the major components of the programme. A final problem encountered in the programme was a 50% drop-out rate.

Community School Day Programme

Objectives and Structure

The Community School Day Programme (CSDP) is one of three very important large-scale projects initiated by the PRG to bring about needed changes in the educational programmes in Grenada (the others are the previously described NISTEP, and the Centre for Popular Education, to be described later). A distinguished-looking pamphlet described the Community School Day Programme as "a companion programme to NISTEP" that was started on October

30, 1980.

Although enumerated in eight objectives, simply, CSDP s function was to involve community volunteers through the work-study approach in the classrooms left vacant when NISTEP teacher-trainees were taking their programme of study (usually Thursdays or Fridays, weekly). The programme had both practical and affective implications for students, the objectives encouraged innovation that would build the nation. It offered students a "different outlook on life" and preparation "to participate more productively in building the nation" ("Community School Day Programme," pamphlet, n.d.). It also promised "to promote a keen sense of patriotism" ("Community School Day Programme," pamphlet, n.d.).

Led by National and Zone coordinators, and involving school principals and a new revolutionary organization, the Community School Council, the programme had several vulnerable points: teaching dependent upon community volunteers, material support needed by the school projects provided by the whim of international non-governmental aid agencies, and fledgling organizations such as the Community School Councils which did not necessarily have full community support.

Not only was the CSDP mandated as the entry point for work-study, but it was also to "facilitate the growth of a keen sense of, and deep willingness to participate in, the

democratic process that is the Grenada Revolution" ("Community School Day Programme," mimeo, n.d., p. 1).

I obtained information about CSDP in two ways: first by contacting the CSDP National Coordinator, Sharon Fletcher, and second by volunteering to be a CSDP teacher. I eventually attaining a 6 week position in St. Louis R.C. Girls' school in St. George's during November and December, 1981.

Through Sister Fletcher, a brochure, newsletter, and reports were acquired. They presented various aspects of CSDP. Unfortunately, from this information, it was not possible to establish the number of volunteers involved with CDSP from 1980-83. The newsletter revealed that there were several aspects to CSDP. It arranged for students to be placed in workplaces in the community (eg. 2 students were working at the Franklyn Store). As well volunteers came into the classroom to assume handicraft or cultural activities with the students. Vol.1, No.2 of the CSDP News Letter, profiled "people who make things move:"

> There are seven female volunteers who came to offer their services at the Concord Government School on CSDP Day. Four of them have recently left school, while the other three are housewives...The activities they are engaged in are sewing, crochet, knitting and craft. The younger volunteers are very interested in acquiring further skills to assist the children...The work of all seven volunteers has been boosted by the purchase of a sewing machine, which was badly needed to help in producing more work. (Not dated but likely August, 1982.)

Gaining the material support required to bring work-study to the schools in Grenada was a serious problem for the coordinator of the project. Taking the Concord Government School mentioned above as an example, a sewing machine was essential for the progress of the work-study programme. Similarly, for agriculturally-oriented projects, all sorts of agricultural equipment, however simple, was essential. It was only by receiving $24,000 EC from Oxfam-Canada, that twelve schools were able to proceed with a school farms project that would provide fencing for the land and equipment (forks, cutlasses, spades, rakes, and fertilizer). Applications were send to a wide variety of international non-governmental agencies to solicit further support for such projects.

The work study approach was piloted in the twelve schools that were funded by the Oxfam project, preliminary progress reports were attained from three schools. Each report described agricultural projects; as well, two out of the three schools had additional craft and domestic science projects for their students. The reports revealed a few of the early problems encountered with the "Work Study" approach.

In the period 17 May to 16 July, 1982, the Vendome R.C. School reported having worked on a flower garden with the infants and having planted a variety of vegetables:

carrots, chyve, and cabbage with the older children. To proceed with the planting, the land needed to be cleared removing a "huge mango tree in the way...limbs and trunk were burnt into coal [charcoal]" as well as forked, and formed into beds (Work Study Approach Experimental Project report, Vendome R.C. School, p. 2). The report unhappily admitted that it was virtually impossible for the little children to provide the needed labour. "Their [infants] inability even to sow the carrots as proposed in the work schedule for the term spoke for itself" (Work Study Approach Experimental Project report, Vendome R.C. School, p. 3). The older children were much better able to work the land and seed the vegetables, and did assist younger children. All were reported to have worked willingly.

The Vendome Work Study Approach Experimental Project report also mentioned the visit of May 14th, 1982 of Cecilio Gonzales, Cuban Education Advisor, together with an interpreter, Mrs. Judith Bullen. The report explains: " [He] visited the school where he explained the Proposed Work Study Approach Experimental Project to the staff. Apart from that meeting, the Principal attended two other meetings for Principals with Signor Gonzales and Sister Fletcher, CSDP Co-ordinator" (p. 1).

In August, 1982, I met the Form V teacher from Vendome, and he spoke glowingly of the carrot crop that the school had harvested and how the money would be used to

purchase secondary school texts for the needy students who choose to go on. (Personal communication with C. Francis, August, 1982.)

St. Patrick's R.C. school suffered other problems. Having managed to sow cabbage, tomatoes, and Kentucky Beans, only the beans seemed to have had correct conditions for germination. The incomplete fencing of the garden, the children's playing on the planted areas, and the route of run-off from a main public drain through the garden, futher hindered success. A plea was made for a cupboard in which to place the tools, and remove them from the only secure location available--the principal's toilet! But the conclusion said it all: "We all feel happy that our school was one selected to try out the Work/Study Programme" (Work Study Programme at St. Patrick's R.C. School, p. 3).

The newsletter from the CSDP central office provided a glimpse of the type of cultural expression which could have been used to build students' understanding and desire to participate in the revolutionary changes. A poem written by Grenadian educator Renalph Gebon started: (CSDP Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 2, pages not numbered)

Work
Work
Truly work
For
by work
we create
we Liberate
we Educate

Analysis of the "CDSP Newsletter," which unfortunately only Vol. 1, No. 2 has been collected reveals new directions for learning: "The grounds are breaking and the school is no longer used as the road towards individual success or a career institute, but the source of collective knowledge" (p. 1). When describing the placement of students in workplaces this perspective is presented: "So what is now happening through CSDP is the penetration of the learning process into the commercial sector. This direct system of learning offers a deeper understanding of the subjects" (p. 1).

The "Newsletter" contained a short story based on a tale of Anansi, a favourite spider character in Caribbean and African literature. The full back page of the "Newsletter" was devoted to "Our Community In History" which looked at the village of Munich, its history, its agricultural base producing farine from manoic, and its impressive CSDP programme which involved "16 volunteers [who] are actively engaged in helping to build their own community" (p. 8). These volunteers "helped to pass on these skills...tailoring, needlework, crochet, wood-work, electronics, art and craft, and agriculture" (p. 8).

Other features of the newsletter were dates of CSDP events; quotations such as "By doing we learn, by learning we do better" (p. 5); and a quiz which asked the readers to affix dates to events such as Heroes Day, Bloody Sunday,

Bloody Monday, Marryshow Day, Freedom Day, Jeremiah Richardson Day, Julien Fedon Manoeuvre 1982, and National Budget Day 1982 (p. 5). Students were asked to explain revolutionary words: AK, PRA, PRG, Freedom Hill, and Manoeuvre (p. 7). A page of poetry written by Grenadian poets and CSDP students, exhaulted the struggle of the revolutionary process (please note the preceding excerpt of the poem by Renalph Gebon).

Summary

Throughout this section, the CSDP programme has been introduced, its objectives examined, and a few insights gained concerning the school programmes it initiated. By recruiting volunteers in several communities, CSDP coordinators managed to replace some of the NISTEP teacher-trainees while they attended upgrading classes. When in the classroom, the volunteers introduced work-study approaches focusing on production and self-reliance. It was noted that an advisor to the Agricultural Education component of CSDP was a Cuban, Signor Gonzales. Vocabulary, events, and locations significant to the revolution were reinforced in publications such as the "CSDP Newsletter." New educational concepts were explored by discouraging individual gain and advocating "collective knowledge."

Personal Involvement as a CSDP Volunteer

This remaining segment concerning the Community School Day Programme describes my personal involvement as a replacement volunteer for a NISTEP teacher-trainee at the St. Louis R.C. Girl's school in St. George's.

Following the suggestion of one of my inital contacts at the Teachers' College, I wrote to the Community School Day Programme representative at the Teachers' College, Sharon Neckles, and offered my services as a volunteer in the programme. Within two days of writing the letter, I heard that I would be volunteering in the field of Drama and working with three classes of girls at St. Louis R.C. school. My teaching commenced on October 29, 1981 and continued until early December, 1981.

Although I did meet with the Principal of the school, Sister Ann, and some discussion did ensue about the direction that I would take concerning the dramatic performances, I did not ever learn exactly what subject the students would have taken normally on Thursdays had their regular teacher been present, nor did I ever meet the teacher-trainee that I was replacing. I was not ever offered a curriculum which prescribed the course that I should be teaching. I did discuss with the principal an outline of activities that would be possible with the

students, receiving positive comments from her. In the mornings I met with 28 Standard 7 and 8 students, those who were school leavers. In the afternoon, I met with first, Standard 6 and then Standard 7 students; these students were still potential candidates for the entrance examinations for Secondary School. At no time was I ever supervised by CSDP personnel, nor school administration. However, when I encountered discipline and attendance problems with the older students, twice the principal came into the kitchen where I was teaching and railed at the students, with no actual positive effect.

The most interesting aspect of this volunteer teaching that I did, was firstly, the revolutionary themes which evolved in the dramatic presentations. These topics were chosen by, in one case, collective effort of the students and myself, and in the other cases, mostly through my initiation, but with considerable participation and ultimately the approval of the students. Secondly, of interest was the exhilarating effect the completed production (which must be described as blatantly patriotic and wholeheartedly endorsing the revolution) had upon the 600 or so students who comprised the audience for our performance.

The productions consisted of songs, skits, and poems read or performed by the students and encompassing a theme. Some of them were written by myself or the students, others

were extracted from the resource material published by the PRG.

I must indicate here that I was only equipped with resource material that had been readily available at the time to visitors on the island and through NISTEP. It certainly was of the revolutionary genre, with the exception of the strongly nationalistic song "I Love Grenada," which was an old and beautiful favorite. All was material that had been written either by New Jewel supporters during the pre-revolutionary struggle, or by PRG supporters after the revolution.

Material critical of the revolution was not included; and I did not entertain directions which would have been critical or oppositional to the revolutionary programme, as I understood it. An important objective was to use the process of dramatization with the students to increase their awareness of the programmes of the PRG, especially those related to agricultural production, the high cost to the economy of imported food, and unemployment. Special emphasis was placed upon the presentation of solutions that could be found through the cooperative sector (the main PRG programme to relieve unemployment--a fate that surely most of the students were to shortly encounter, I assumed). The group of students who took the greatest initiative, centred their production around the organizing of youth into the National Youth Organisation (the youth wing of the PRG),

and the need to overcome family resistance to this involvement.

Lesson plans that were prepared for these Thursday sessions with the three groups show that although development of material for the productions was an important part of the class, over half of the time was spent working on technical activities of warm ups, relaxation, improvisation, story-telling, voice exercises, body movement, character study, and the like.

Finally, I must mention that at no time did the Coordinators of CSDP ever visit the classes that I taught, nor did they attend the final production presented to the student body of St. Louis R.C. school. To my knowledge, no evaluation of the programme was conducted, not even by the principal. My teaching performance, however, was evaluated by brief, but enthusiatic, notes from one group of students.

Comments about the CSDP in Practice

Aside from my own difficulties as a CSDP volunteer with poor facilities, little direction, no evaluation, and in the case of the Standard 8 students, frequent absenteeism, other criticisms were raised about the programme.

A "concerned National Women's Organisation" member

wrote in a letter to the editor to the "Free West Indian" her dismay that because of lack of programmes planned for students on Thursdays, her children did not want to attend school. She wrote: "I think this CSDP should be a very serious matter, especially for the teachers. If there is no programme, give the children work on the board to do. We want our children to step forward, not backward" (Vol. III, #23, p. 4).

About a month later, the CSDP Unit in Tanteen responded to this criticism, suggesting that as a NWO member, it was her responsibility to participate in CSDP and make it work either as a volunteer in the school, as a member of the Community School Council, or on the Parent Teacher Association. An additional comment added: "The problem is that we have, for too long, been thinking that mathematics and its co-partners are the only subjects for an educated man or woman. It is time that we change our outlook on education and begin to see 'Education as Production too' and that acquistion of skills leads to production" ("Free West Indian," Vol. III, #29, p. 4).

Thorndike (1985) also provided insights about the success of CSDP. Mentioning that the programme followed similar models to those used in Cuba and China, administrative shortcomings were one of the main downfalls. He pointed out the serious problem of community indifference, thwarting the involvement so crucial to the

success of the programme. He also mentioned a "two-track" system that CSDP perpetuated. Students who were academically-oriented would not be placed in a CSDP programme which thereby became reserved for those who would become "school leavers." The lower stream was the group to assume the production-oriented activities of gardening, woodworking, and home economics. He alluded to a tendency for CSDP schools to be mostly rural-based because they were the ones with the most untrained teachers. These schools became: "in effect, 'half-work, half-study' schools and serious deficiencies in literacy and numeracy began to appear, to the concern of the government" (1985:109).

Summary

This section has attempted to present a profile of the Community School Day programme: its structure and objectives, how it was maintained in the school system, where it gained funding support, a personal perspective as a volunteer, and certain criticisms of the programme.

The Centre For Popular Education

The Centre for Popular Education (CPE) was established by the PRG early in the revolution, to educate the working class firstly, through a brief literacy campaign (Phase I),

and then through an adult education programme of two years (Phase II). The purpose of the second phase was to upgrade adults to school-leaving level, having them pass through Grades 1 to 4, each with a separate curriculum resource.

The CPE, because it was a new institution without precedent in Grenada, provided for the PRG an educational institution over which they had complete control. Through CPE, the PRG could mobilize and educate Grenadians about their revolutionary context and could consolidate support for the PRG's directions and programmes.

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, quoted by Thorndike (1985:109) revealed this "clear political aim" of CPE:

> It is...going to have tremendous relevance to the success of building a deeper and greater sense of national unity, and of raising consciousness...it will be much easier for them not to be misled...it will be much easier for them to understand Imperialism. It will be much easier for them to understand what we mean when we talk of de-stabilization, what we mean when we say that the Revolution is for the people, and that the people are the Revolution. (Emphasis in original.)

CPE was established as an adult educational initiative under the Ministry of Education, although its physical location was quite separate from the Ministry. Its funds, at least for Phase I, were raised mostly from external sources.

It was early in 1980 that the backbone of CPE was established. CPE representatives were involved with the

Feb. 20 - 28, 1980 Work Study Approach for Community Education--Paulo Friere Workshop. In fact, CPE coordinator Val Cornwall, reported that the Paulo Freire Workshop was one of three seminars set up by CPE as a part of their Phase I literacy campaign. Reporters of the Paulo Freire Workshop did not indicate any particular emphasis on literacy at all!

Likely, the National Technical Commission was the first CPE organ to be established. Initially, its important role was writing the literacy text, Let Us Learn Together, and the manual for volunteers, Forward Ever. Then it was responsible for many aspects of the literacy campaign: inservicing technicians at the parish and village level, orienting them to new resources, keeping track of the statistical data, and publishing a newsletter, CPE News.

Financial support for the literacy campaign came from several areas: (a) Organization of American States -$35,000 US, (b) Cuba - printing of 10,000 copies of Phase II adult education texts, chalk, pencils, and one advisor to the campaign, (c) World Council of Churches - Paulo Freire's assistance for one week, and (d) Iraq - 10,000 exercise books. There were also local donations and other contributions. The Ministry of Education printed the many thousands of copies of the literacy text and manual.

The Literacy Campaign

The literacy campaign, although lauded by the PRG to have had 3500 to 4000 registrants, actually generated much smaller results. Val Cornwall reported that 881 illiterates and 287 semi-literates became literate as a result of the campaign (Report on the Adult Literacy Campaign, 1981:14). She noted that 40.6% of these were youth aged 14-25 years. A massive volunteer effort had taken place. Each volunteer worked with only one or two literacy students.

The success of the campaign, which lasted from April 18, 1981 to March 1, 1982, was not judged, however, by the relatively few number of individuals who became literate. It was rationalized that Grenada's illiteracy rate was very low, regardless. It was the ability to mobilize Grenadians into a massive campaign that was seen as the great success. An exhaustive variety of mobilization techniques were implemented: sales of over 10,000 CPE T-shirts; posting of 10,000 posters; daily radio ads; radio interviews with national CPE coordinators; a national address by the Minister of Education; a series of feature stories in the "Free West Indian;" 1980 designated by the PRG as the "Year of Education and Production;" and CPE designated as the 1980 "Programme of the Year."

Valerie Cornwall continued in her Report on the Adult

Literacy Campaign:

> Educational achievements of the campaign have naturally been over-shadowed by the organisational achievements and the social and cultural impact of the programme. These are achievements which cannot be measured by numbers, but by the popularity of the programme in our communities, the resulting organisational ability to our villages and the extent of people's participation in the educational and cultural programmes of the Centre for Popular Education. (p. 14)

Cultural components of the campaign were crucial to the mobilization strategies. Grenadians were encouraged to write poems, plays, or songs about CPE, especially in conjunction with recognition or emulation ceremonies. Primary teacher, Dwight Coy, who was parish coordinator for the CPE in Carriacou described cultural involvement to Chris Searle (Searle, 1984:50-1):

> After a time, people began to identify the Revolution with the C.P.E. and the C.P.E with the Revolution. They knew both were bringing them forward, that both were interested in their well-being. At the same time too, both were creating that area where the people are free to express themselves culturally, and that was coming out clearly in the different activities we organised. For example, when we organised an emulation, people were enthusiastic to write a play or poem, even though they'd <u>never</u> thought they'd be able to do that before the C.P.E...We were really mobilising the masses and people came in hundreds to our emulation ceremonies and cultural activities.

Interview with a Literacy Pupil, Miss Sylvester

Before going on to describe the next phase of CPE's programme, a comment should be included here with regard to the concept of literacy. On my second visit to Grenada, I was very anxious to meet with literacy pupils and gain from them perspectives concerning their experience as literacy pupils. Because the month that I visited, August, was summer holidays for teachers and many of the Ministry of Education officials, and Carnival preparations and festivities occupied everyone's attention, it was quite difficult to establish the contacts that I wished. Finally, just a few days before departure, I persuaded an acquaintance, J. Antoine of Fontenoy, to arrange for me to meet one of his neighbours who had been a CPE literacy pupil.

Miss Sylvester, a 60 year old woman, was a CPE literacy pupil for two months. Her teacher was a woman in her neighbourhood who retired from the classroom because of poor eyesight. Miss Sylvester described her literacy programme as she thumbed through the Let Us Learn Together manual. She and her teacher had met about twice a week for one and a half hours a session. Each time they met, they would go through one or two lessons in the manual; they read through the words, but they did not spend much time discussing the photographs. Miss Sylvester did her

exercises in a separate book and didn't write directly in the literacy manual. She didn't write the final test.

When I asked her to read a few selections in the literacy manual, it quickly became apparent that Miss Sylvester had become familiar with the phrases in the manual, but couldn't read the words. She recited phrases that were part of following lessons, but couldn't decipher the ones that the page contained.

Because I realized at this point that this literacy pupil had not learned to read as a result of CPE, I was curious to have her describe what she had gained from the programme. I asked her what she felt about the words and if they meant anything to her.

Miss Sylvester stated that she liked the words. Although the comments that she subsequently made, I found confusing, it did indicate the cultural gap which existed between us. However, I was able to discern that she was glad when the PRG came in but she associated the new government with bureaucratic inefficiencies. Some examples that she offered were phone bills which did not come in time and therefore were not paid, that resulted in other agencies threatening to cut off her phone. Similar situations arose with her housing tax. She said that she was in the National Women's Organisation. Then she described the outings and rallies she attended because free buses were provided as well as occasional music, fete

(parties), and refreshments. She went to a rally which opened a new Secondary School, a party of a PRG minister, Unison Whiteman, and a mass for the government at St. Paul to "pray for help to avoid the forces outside the country who want to shoot us down."

It seemed that her positive impressions of the PRG were clouded by her experience with bureaucratic bungling. In conclusion she declared that she had benefitted from the literacy programme because she could now write her name. This assisted her in her dealings at the bank. Just to prove her accomplishment, she proceeded to sign her name on my notebook.

This anecdote illustrates that the literacy programme, being a short, informal, and loosely coordinated effort offered many curricular agendas beyond that of reading and writing. It was a programme which touched the heart of many Grenadians for the state had moved from its formal, sterile role of attaining its fiscal base from the population through collecting taxes and fees for service, and reached into a personally engaging role. Miss Sylvester closely associated this opportunity with Maurice Bishop and the PRG. This was along with political/recreational activities of rallies, fetes, and other celebrations which people like Miss Sylvester attended.

Phase II: Adult Education Programme

The second phase of the CPE was described by Searle (1985:40): "From August, 1982, an offensive of Further Education, opening up centres in villages throughout the nation." The PRG estimated that there were about 30,000 sub-educated adults in Grenada, and that their upgrading would take almost ten years.

Because the initial year of Phase II (April, 1981 - June, 1982) was occupied by the difficult task of composing four texts for adult upgrading to school-leaving level, little else was done by the National Technical Commission to extend the basic literacy work already accomplished other than the publication of a follow up reader: Let Us Continue Reading.

Eventually, the CPE adult education texts were written and consisted of four workbook-style texts published by the thousands in Cuba through a "technical co-operation agreement existing between Grenada and Cuba" ("Free West Indian," Vol. III, #34:2).

Mobilization of Grenadians for the second phase was a high priorty of the PRG and involved rallies, articles in the "Free West Indian," and a similar organizational structure as was utilized in Phase I. Several significant differences developed between the two phases, however. Firstly, the Phase II classes were to be conducted in the

evenings, twice a week for 6 hours in total. Secondly, the teachers of Phase II were to be "professional teachers in the majority of cases, including non-professional ones with academic qualifications preferably with two or more GCE O Levels" ("Free West Indian," Vol. III, #22:2). Although June articles in the "Free West Indian" indicated some difficulty in recruiting teachers for the night classes, a year later, in a speech in New York city, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was able to assert:

> ...for two nights a week, three hours each,...agricultural workers, farmers in our country, clerical workers, factory workers, unemployed youth who have dropped out of school, more and more of them are now going to one of the seventy-two centres operating around the country, bringing this night school education to our people. (Marcus and Taber, 1983:296)

Thirdly, Phase II offered six classes at each centre: literacy, post-literacy, and each of the four grades of the adult education programme. Each class was to have a separate teacher.

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, to assist in the mobilization effort of Phase II of CPE, had declared 1983 to be the "Year of Political and Academic Education." He also stated: "The main academic or educational task for 1983, therefore, must be to push ahead vigorously with the CPE adult education program, to bring thousands more of our working people into this program because of its fundamental

relevance to the social, political, and economic development of the masses." (Marcus and Taber, 1983:277.) It seemed that the PRG had finally an education programme which met their political and educational goals and objectives. With the following statement, Maurice Bishop firmly entrenched the PRG's mandate of adult education:

> CPE certificates will therefore become more of a critical asset in the new job opportunities that will be created and an equally important asset in the areas of training and promotion. A CPE Adult Education Certificate will become a recognized certificate in the society. Those who get it will be able to use it as the qualification for certain jobs and for promotion in existing jobs. (Marcus and Taber, 1983:277.)

Content Analysis of CPE Textual Resources

It is not within the scope of this study to provide a detailed content analysis of the important CPE texts used in the literacy and adult education programmes. However, these texts do provide the study with an important idea of just what the PRG felt should be presented to the literacy student in the areas of: culture, science, history, economics, agriculture, anthropology, and others.

Literacy Reader and Manual

The literacy reader, composed of 14 lessons, and read almost like a basic political education guide. Each lesson

reinforced a particular aspect of the political platform, directions, or programmes initiated by the PRG. It was most dissimilar to the pedagogy of the oppressed espoused by Freire, which asks that literacy be associated with the awakening of critical consciousness of the learner. No effort was made in the manual to encourage questioning, although it did mention emancipatory aspects of change introduced by the PRG.

Certainly the manual, Forward Ever had excellent suggestions of how to approach adult learners with compassion and without paternalism. The methodology suggested was sound. The same themes presented in the literacy reader were elaborated upon in a third section of the manual, and provided detailed descriptions for the volunteer working with the literacy students "so that they can provide you with an understanding of some of the important issues of our Revolution and the development of our country" (Forward Ever, p. 1). It is also interesting to note that directions to the volunteer insisted that the manual and reader were to be studied thoroughly and that "Volunteers must keep to the directions of the Readers and Manual and should not go beyond its guidelines" (Forward Ever, p. 5).

By careful examination of the reader and manual, it has been possible to extract from the content the major themes which the PRG wanted to impress upon Grenadian adult

learners. The themes included reinforcement of benefits that the PRG had brought to Grenada, behavioural directives for the learners, and political/philosophical stances that should be adopted.

Benefits to the revolution mentioned in the content of the literacy reader were:

1. More equitable distribution of resources to all parts of Grenada, Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

2. Carriacou and Petit Martinique have gained: lengthened airstrip, improved electrical service and repaired jetty (dock) at Carriacou; water storage tanks, branch of the National Commercial Bank, branch of the National Import Marketing Board, resident doctors and nurses, hospital, schools, and road repaired at Petit Martinique.

3. Free milk for mothers and babies.

4. An International Airport which unites people and provides more jobs.

5. A National Commercial Bank, which provides loans and better interest rates for Grenadians.

6. More scholarships.

7. More doctors and dentists.

8. A revolution which is the people and has room for all Grenadians.

Behavioural directives which would consolidate support for the revolutionary directions and programmes of the PRG

asked that Grenadian learners:

1. Learn from each other.
2. Volunteer with community work brigades.
3. Increase agricultural production.
4. Participate in the militia and defend villages and communities.
5. Become united, disciplined, and hard working.
6. Produce what Grenadians eat.
7. Become better educated.
8. Struggle to build a new Grenada.

Political and philosophical stances advocated in the reader and manual were: nationalism, adoption of a pro-Cuban stance, and anti-Imperialism with regard to the United States.

Post-literacy Booklet: Let Us Continue Reading

Although it is not possible to exactly determine how widespread the use of this post-literacy reader was, the May 15, 1982 issue of the "Free West Indian" stated that it would be used in all the CPE Phase II centres, which were estimated at that time to number 41 (Vol. III, #22).

These booklets provided the student with readings that contained useful information on various topics related to Grenada: history and historical landmarks; geography; the national anthem; village cleanliness, health and hygiene;

benefits of recreation; safety tips for hurricane season; preventing water wastage; even a recipe for steamed fish. Also included were sympathetic stories and poems which provided a glimpse into the dignified life of the banana man or the hazards faced by the fishermen. Citizens were informed of the benefits of paying taxes.

Unlike the literacy reader and manual, only occasionally were programmes of the revolution promoted in Let Us Continue Reading. In the 8th lesson, readers were encouraged to join the various PRG organizations: the National Youth Organisation, the National Women's Organisation, the Productive Farmer's Union, community health and work brigades, and the militia. Lesson 4 on nationalism, along with the national anthem, included the patriotic sentence: "I am also very proud of the revolutionary process of building a new and just society for all Grenadians" (Let Us Continue Reading, p. 10).

Adult Education Books - Grades One to Four

The adult education books were written by the National Technical Commission in 1981-82 and were published in collaboration with the Cuban publishing house Pueblo y Educaion of the Ministry of Culture. Each book presented three subjects: English, mathematics, and natural science. These three subjects were deemed to "form the essential

pillars of knowledge for adults and workers in the New Grenada" (Adult Education: Book 1, p. VII).

The pedagological underpinnings of the course were described thus in the Introduction to Book 1:

> The English course emphasises the practise of reading as a means of independent study and a source of new knowledge. The Mathematics included here aims at providing the adult with a sound knowledge of the basics of mathematical theory utilising elements of actual experience. The Natural Science course seeks to introduce a scientific understanding of Nature. The understanding and use of science by the working people is an indispensible tool in the construction of the new society. (p. VII)

The curriculum of the adult education Books 1 to 4 formed a fairly comprehensive and rigorous presentation of basic primary English, mathematics, and science; all written in Standard English, with attractive illustrations and photographs.

The English grammar exercises introduced the parts of the sentence (eg. noun, verb, adjective, article) and requested the writing of songs, poetry, and brief paragraphs. The difficulty of the concepts increased as each book progressed. No hesitation was given to introducing grammatical terms such as interrogative and demonstrative adjectives. Some practical writing was encouraged such as: writing a letter of application (Book 3), or filling out a cheque and bank deposit slip (Book 4). Each unit started with a reading or poem, followed by

vocabulary and comprehension questions, culminating with grammatical exercises.

The mathematics course introduced basic computational operations: addition, multiplication, subtraction, and division; then moved to operations with fractions and decimals, measurement, introductory geometry, and algebra; the course culminated with percentages, graphing, and common, daily transactions. Extensive exercises facilitated student understanding, although again, no effort was made to limit such terminology as numerator and denominator.

The science course was a very general introduction to science starting with physical science: the solar system, the water and air of planet Earth, gravity, and characteristics of living and non-living matter. The topics continued on to geography of the earth, location of Grenada, and the geography and climate of Grenada. Electricity, machines, and food were topics along with Grenadian natural resources, population, and economy that were included in Book 3. The final book provided a glimpse at botany. Throughout the course a few experiments were included which required simple equipment such as dry cells, wire, and flashlight bulbs.

This brief summary of the subject content presented in the Adult Education Books reveals that there was an effort made by the PRG to provide a comprehensive review of the

English, mathematics, and science topics in a fashion which provided a context familiar to the Grenadian worker.

Themes quite similar to the ones mentioned above in the discussion of the literacy reader and manual and the post-literacy manual were also developed in the adult education texts; they were themes that met educational and political objectives of the PRG. The English readings in Book 1 were all written from a local Grenadian context, with the exception of a few poems depicting black activism from the United States or black nationalism and liberation movements from Africa and the Caribbean. The content of the readings varied from basic information on topics such as: science, home management, anthropology, agriculture and fisheries, local innovation and appropriate technology, culture, and conservation; to very political messages: the slave rebellion led in the late 1700's by Julien Fedon, solutions to unemployment through cooperatives, T.A. Marryshow's leadership for Caribbean federation and representative government in the early 1900's, and the commemoration on Nov. 17, 1980 of the death of patriots by counter-revolutionaries.

The English grammar section contained more subtle political commentary, slipped in as sentences or phrases for reconstruction in the exercises. It seemed that every unit (there were 20 in Book 1) had one or two of these "loaded" phrases or sentences inserted amongst the

apolitical ones. In Unit 2 of Book 1, exercise 5 goes thus:

> 5.Which of these sentences are statements, questions or commands.
> On January 21 we honour our fallen hero, Rupert Bishop.
> Was the block-o successful.
> Go to the show tomorrow.
> The people of El Salvador will win.
> Do you get equal pay for equal work.
> Make it a must and be there.
> Ann Marie is a teacher.

Of the seven statements, the first and fourth were politically alligned with the orientation of the PRG, who perceived Rupert Bishop to be a martyr of the revolution and who endorsed the liberation struggle of peasants in El Salvador. The fifth could be considered to be a progressive political statement which would speak for non-sexist legislation in any democratic society. The rest reinforced the Grenadian cultural environment: ie. the 'block-o,' or were cuturally and politically neutral.

Below are grouped some of the grammar examples that were used in the 20 units of Book 1, to illustrate the variety of political topics that were included in these adult literacy texts in a most unobtrusive manner:

PRG Identified Heroes	Support for the Militia
- Fedon's slogan was "liberty, equality, or death."	- It is important that men and women join the militia.
- Fedon fights for freedom and independence.	- The P.R.A. and the militia_____our
- We are the children of Fedon,	

Marryshow and Butler.

country.
- Militia members are patriotic citizens.

Pro-PRG Statements
- Our leaders are firm revolutionaries.
- The Revolution benefits us all.
- The mass organizations express the will of the people.
- The people of Grenada are united and free.
- We have a people's government.

Anti-Imperialism
- Imperialism will keep us down.

Books 2 to 4 carried similar sorts of topics in their English readings, and similar examples in their grammar exercises, although the content grew in sophistication as the books advanced. By the fourth book, the readings included international topics such as apartheid and the neutron bomb. Throughout the mathematics course, very little reference was made to the politics of the revolution, although some references emerged. Sections of the science course illustrated the Grenadian context but did not select any particular political orientation.

Summary

This final section of Chapter V has presented information about the Centre for Popular Education. Because the programmes of this Centre: adult literacy and adult upgrading were unique to Grenadian people, the PRG

was able to establish new institutions, new programmes, and new textual resources that reflected their political, cultural, and educational directions. Organizers of the literacy campaign considered the greatest achievement to be the scale of national mobilization realized, when the literacy gains were small. When the CPE programmes moved to adult education, again, full endorsement was received by the PRG. This section provides examples of the curricular changes that were developed by the National Technical Commission of CPE, and will provide a base of arguing that the PRG did influence their education with a particular political ideology. This discussion will be presented in Chapter VI.

This chapter has attempted to present an overview of the three major educational programmes which the PRG developed in Grenada, and certain insights that I gleaned concerning their implementation. These programmes were valiant efforts by the PRG to overcome serious educational deficiencies in their country on a severely limited budget.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

The purpose of this chapter is, in the first section, to briefly review the main parameters of the PRG's educational platform established in the NJM Manifesto of 1973 and in the PRG's declarations of educational direction made through various speeches and statements after the revolution (presented in Chapter III). With this as background, in the second section, an effort will be made to reflect on how successful the PRG was in meeting one of their main educational goals, the participation of Grenadians in major decisions of the state, participatory democracy. In the third section, criticisms of the efforts made by the PRG will be discussed. Evidence will be presented asserting that the PRG had no serious commitment to mass participation in state decisions, but viewed the Grenadian people as being currently unsuitable to make major decisions, and needing strict political leadership and guidance from a vanguard party. The fourth section of this chapter will examine the programmes developed for the formal school system and in the fifth section the adult education system in Grenada will be critiqued, pointing out that the PRG hoped that their programmes would build a new Grenadian, better suited to their political ends. The sixth section will provide an overview of the study and its

findings. The seventh section will include a few personal reflections on the study. The eighth and final section will review the accomplishments of the Grenadian revolution.

The PRG'S Stated Educational Objectives

As revealed in their 1973 Manifesto, NJM placed great importance on educational programmes and schools. They stated that schools must offer programmes which taught, in a practical way, skills relevant to the local economy. They also expressed the importance of high-quality, readily accessible, and free education at both the primary and secondary levels. Locally-based texts and skills imparted from community members were to provide the relevant curriculum desired to aid in Grenada's much needed economic boost. For adult learners, a series of schools independent of the current educational system, Freedom Schools staffed by volunteers, were to provide the expertise needed for development in agriculture, fisheries, and other enterprises. These schools would stress the local context and black culture.

It was the NJM's stated belief that Grenadian society should become integrated through a skills exchange between professionals and those who lacked skills. Their stated vision was of a self-reliant and self-sufficient society,

with each person becoming more responsible and more humane, each individual assisting Grenada to overcome the serious developmental difficulties that it encountered. Key to the success of the NJM platform was the active participation of all citizens in the decision-making of the state, and a leadership that was constantly in contact with the wishes, needs, and concerns of ordinary citizens.

Once in power, the PRG's declarations about education continued. Prime Minister Bishop spoke frequently to rallies and teachers' gatherings about the severe legacy inherited from the colonial experience and perpetuated through the current school system: self-hate and destruction of self-confidence; continuance of privilege and racism; loss of black Grenadian history, values, creativity and culture; and authoritarianism, narrow nationalism, and isolationism.

Curricular concerns expressed by the PRG centred around the school's needless orientation toward empty certification, the heed that Grenadians paid to education as a route to upward mobility and a ticket off the island, contributing to a costly brain drain and bleeding Grenada of its skilled and trained personnel.

The directions and programmes developed by the PRG when in power have been detailed in Chapters III, IV, and V. The reader should refer to these chapters for a full discussion of the process of educational change in both

formal and non-formal educational settings in Grenada.

The PRG'S Educational Work with the Masses: Building a Participatory Democracy

A significant portion of the non-formal educational work of the PRG done with the Grenadian people encouraged them to participate in various state-established apparatuses. This was initiated by the New Jewel Movement in the mid-seventies long before power was assumed in 1979. As described in Chapter III, it constituted assembling large numbers of people at meetings and rallies where they heard of the NJM's political platform presented by various party officials and leaders. Grenadians also supported many mass actions initiated by the NJM. They were encouraged to participate in NJM community-based organizations or cells.

These organizational efforts continued into the revolutionary times. The PRG was able to assemble tremendous numbers of Grenadians, up to 20,000 (1/5 of the population). They encouraged Grenadians to join "mass organisations" such as the National Women's Organisation, the National Youth Organisation, the Productive Farmers' Union, the militia, unions, and others. It was through these settings and through the Parish and Zone Councils that the people were to have direct contact with the

leadership of the PRG, and were to aid in guiding the country.

Mass Organizations

As has been mentioned above, the New Jewel Movement encouraged Grenadians to join trade unions and other mass organizations. The involvement of large numbers of Grenadians in these organizations, recruited by the PRG with mobilization techniques very similar to the ones mentioned in the CPE literacy campaign (Chapter V, third section), was vital to the PRG as proof of their claim to "participatory democracy." Mobilization campaigns for all the mass organizations received high media profiles. The media presented, in particular, ongoing updates on recruitment statistics for each mass organization, as well as brief descriptions of their programmes. It was important to the PRG that there be ample evidence of broad-based support through the mass organizations. The PRG suffered from sharp criticisms leveled by other countries in the region because of their failure to fufil the promise to reinstate national elections and because of their sidestepping of the traditional "Westminister" parliamentary democratic process.

The New Jewel Movement was vague and obscure about their choice of political route for the PRG: a non-capitalist path to socialist construction by way of a

national democratic, anti-imperialist stage led by a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. Their public statements concerning governing were often criticisms of the electoral process, which they described as a "rum and cornbeef convention...a five seconds in five years right to put an X" (Bishop, 1984:188). They did not clearly describe what their process of democratic government would entail, except for the participation of the mass organizations.

The PRG maintained that by involving the Grenadian people in democratic organizations which had leadership elections every two years, presented plans of action to all groups for evaluation and criticism prior to their being adopted, and acted in an accountable, responsible, and participatory manner, they engaged Grenadians in a much more democratic society than had ever existed in Grenada, or currently existed in the region aside from Cuba.

Councils

The participation of Grenadians in another level of governing, the Parish, Zonal, Worker-Parish, and Farmer councils, was offered by the PRG as further evidence of democratization:

> In Grenada every single month thousands of our people come together in different villages around our country in their Zonal councils, Workers' Parish councils, women farmer and youth councils

> and there they are able to discuss their own problems, receive reports from the leaders of mass organisations on how the programmes of the revolution are going, get reports from the top managers in the country--whether it is the manager of the electricity company or of the telephone company or the price control inspector or the public health inspector--on what they are doing and how well they are spending tax payers' money...every single month the very top leadership of the party goes before the people in these monthly councils and accounts to the people on what they are doing...these organisations are no joke organisations, but are real, living and developing organisations, which bring real benefits to our people. (Maurice Bishop, 1984:189.)

The PRG reported that it was the village coordinating bureau and the local NJM party organization which directly passed to the national NJM party resolutions and concerns raised at the council level.

NJM Party

Extraordinary as it may seem, Grenadians were not encouraged to become directly involved with the New Jewel Movement party. The NJM, Hart reported, was a small organization with only about 500 full, candidate, and applicant members and of these there were only 65 full members (Hart in Bishop, 1984:xxiv). It also had a very small Central Committee of about 14 members (Payne, Sutton, and Thorndike, 1984:37).

Participation in the Passing of Laws

Little has been written to delineate the process whereby the PRG formulated and passed their People's Laws. Hart, who was appointed Attorney-General in Grenada from 1982 onward until the invasion of USA marines, described to a meeting at the University of West Indies (March 21, 1984): "The method of legislating [utilized by the PRG] was by proclamation in cabinet" (p. 9). Hart mentioned that there was an irratic and irregular consultation process between the PRG cabinet and the mass organizations and unions, prior to the passing of some legislation, but certainly not all. There can be no doubt, the New Jewel Movement was in full control of the decision-making. They formed the majority of the cabinet, 6 out of 7 members. In the actual 23 person governing body which formed the PRG, they had a majority membership of 14 (Payne, Sutton, and Thorndike, 1984:37).

The PRG government was a coalition of NJM members and private sector representatives who were patriotic and concerned to "participate in the struggle to free Grenada, politically and economically, from imperialist control" (Hart in Bishop, 1984:xvi). From this evidence, however, it is apparent that the consultative apparatus which could have generated some form of democratic participation by

various sectors of Grenadian society was regularly ignored and that the PRG declarations of a vibrant participatory democracy should be accepted by students of this revolutionary process with reservation.

Constitutional Entrenchment of Participatory Democracy

Hart established that the participatory structures created by the PRG were informal practices, which the PRG did intend to become part of the formal constitutional structure. The PRG had initiated work on the drafting of the Grenadian constitution in June, 1983 by appointing a commission which was to complete the task within the next two years. Hart, himself appointed a member of the commission, described the process by which the constitution was to be adopted: "After public discussion and revision, the final draft was to be submitted to the people for approval in a referendum" (Bishop, 1984:xvi).

Evidence of People's Power, the Culture of Grenada?

As American educator Brent Harold observed, the PRG's educational programmes were evident everywhere, or on the other hand, the barrage could be viewed as propaganda. Certainly, the PRG had made use of every vehicle to establish a new social consciousness among the Grenadian

people, and all media were recruited for this mission. Although one might have assumed that a broad range of perspectives would have been represented in the press, radio, T.V., even the billboards, the PRG kept control of almost everything. Despite their efforts, North American culture seeped in everywhere. Better-off Grenadians watched North American T.V. channels complete with programming familiar to Canadians on the prairies. The T.V. influence, along with American newsmagazines and low-grade movies, maintained a cultural imperialist presence that was a great problem for the PRG. It was the Kung Fu movies at the Cinema and not the Cuban film festival that drew full-capacity Grenadian audiences. Unlike Cuba, which had a language difference from that of the mainland, Grenada was always vulnerable to broadcasts and publications from abroad.

It was possible to see in almost every aspect of indigenous culture a revolutionary presence, but not an all-pervasive one. The PRG made a great effort to encourage the creation of cultural works by Grenadians who were enrolled in the mass organizations or other facets of society organized by the PRG. The PRG also went to great efforts to promote these patriotic materials. Whether published as anthologies of poems, or presented as dramatic performances at PRG sponsored events, they formed a vibrant new message which certainly did rouse revolutionary ferver.

An important PRG Minister of Health, Chris DeRiggs, was foremost a wonderfully engaging poet and performer, whose verse encapsulated Grenadian people's hopes for an improved future in contrast to the dispair of their dismal past.

Church-related activities as well as traditional rites were powerful forces over which the PRG had little or no control. I shall never forget the evening of All Saints' Night when I happened to be travelling full way around the island to attend a meeting and return home. The cemeteries in every community were lit with bonfires in respect for the spirits of the deceased. Not likely a practice in accordance with the scientific approach encouraged by the PRG. Furthermore, the population revered its local calypso performers, some of whom did present patriotic, revolutionary messages, and others, who carried on with their own individual political and social messages, much to the delight and support of their fans. (For a complete discussion of the cultural parameters of the Revolution in Grenada please see Searle, 1984b.)

All hesitation put aside, there were a couple of occasions when the PRG made a tremendous effort to enact a participatory structure which utilized the mass organizations and other democratic vehicles established by or available to the state. These two cases were the national conferences related to the passing of the budgets in 1982 and 1983, and the National Training Seminar for

teachers in 1980. They provide examples of the PRG's effort to realize their goal of educational programmes by which the Grenadian people were encouraged to participate in major decisions which would affect their lives.

National Conferences Related to the Budget

The best example of popular decision-making organized by the PRG was the establishment and adoption of the national budgets in 1982 and 1983. The Ministry of Finance, in charge of the budget, was directed by the capable hands of Bernard Coard. In his introduction to Forward Ever! Three Years of the Grenadian Revolution: Speeches of Maurice Bishop (1982), Jim Percy, an Australian socialist, described the process whereby the 1982 budget was developed:

> Grenada's 1982 budget began to be prepared in December 1981, when meetings of unions and mass organisations were held all over the island, at which members of the PRG explained the economic problems facing the country and the goals which the government felt could and should be accomplished during the year. These presentations were followed by questions and free-ranging discussion of the economy and the budget.
>
> The second stage was the National Conference of Delegates of Mass Organisations on the Economy, held on January 29. There were nearly 1000 delegates, elected after the conclusion of the discussions initiated in December. The conference heard a report on the draft budget by Finance Minister Bernard Coard, and then broke into 25 smaller discussion groups, each containing a

> cross-section of the island's workforce and mass organisations. A government officer was assigned to each group--only to answer questions. Each group also had a secretary, who recorded all proposals and suggestions.
>
> Following the conference, delegates reported to their organisations, beginning further discussions. By the time the completed budget was presented on March 9, Coard could say with full accuracy: 'It has taken tens of thousands of people to put this budget together. There have been hundreds of workshops; all of the suggestions, all the proposals, all of the criticisms have been heard. And every single member of the cabinet has spent the last three weeks going through these proposals.' (Bishop, 1982:17, emphasis in original.)

In this process, perhaps a blueprint had been established and could have become the PRG's participatory democracy policy entrenched in the constitution. Certainly, by interpreting this conference, it is possible to suggest that the PRG had delineated these guidelines for participatory democracy: a) over the course of a month or two, PRG officials meet with Grenadians at the community level who are members of groups such as the National Youth Organisation to explain and discuss a question such as the upcoming budget, b) a conference for mass organization representatives is held to hear a report by a PRG Minister with regard to the topic, c) small groups of 40 provide their comments of the Minister's report, d) written reports of comments from each small group are reviewed by each member of the PRG Cabinet, e) representatives of the organizations report back to their communities on

information they gained during the conference, and f) the Minister a month or so later, presents to the Grenadian people, the policy which has been established by the conference.

National Training Seminar

The other process of participatory democracy presented in this study is the PRG's National Training Seminar (also known as the National Teachers' Seminar). At the seminar, all the country's primary and junior secondary teachers met for an extensive consultation of the future directions for the school system. The teachers were addressed by the Prime Minister with regard to the PRG's concerns about education and the PRG's vision of future changes. The teachers perused statements about education prepared by the PRG Ministry of Education and then they met in small groups to provide comments. Their educational concerns were published in a booklet, Teachers Speak. It is not really known how the Ministry of Education made use of the comments by teachers in establishing their educational policy, but Teachers Speak was fairly widely available. This seminar does stand as one of the greatest consultation efforts made by the PRG because of their desire to bring all teachers of these two educational areas together to participate. The reader is reminded that the National

Training Seminar is discussed in greater detail in Chapter III, the third section.

Criticism of the Participatory Process

Control by Council or Central Committee?

The popular participatory process that has been described herein, and that was hotly defended by the PRG leadership was not without its critics. My experience in Grenada was that it was very difficult to attend meetings of the Parish and Zonal Councils which were acclaimed by the PRG to be the pulse of the participation in state decision-making by ordinary Grenadians. In spite of my efforts during the months of my stay, I was not able to locate or attend any council meetings. Because I did not hear other references to the impact of the councils outside of the PRG controlled media (Radio Free Grenada, the "Free West Indian"), I grew to question their functioning and effectiveness.

Thorndike reinforced my concerns about the questionable impact of the council's contributions, which he stated, lost popular support. First he mentioned that the glowing and enthusiastic declarations of people's power were: "Nothing of the kind...the fulcrum of power clearly and unambiguously lay within the [NJM] Central Committee"

(1985:90). He continued:

> It was clear that party policy was at best only marginally influenced by these institutions [councils, mass organizations] whose primary purpose was to mobilize support for local and national development projects and for the government generally, to provide political education at village level, disseminate information and generally defend the revolution. (1985:90)

In light of these comments, serious reconsideration must be given to the participatory structures presented previously.

Rallies: Unidirectional Flows of Information

Upon reflection, the large rallies, attended by 10,000 people or more, do not fit well into a participatory structure, but reinforce the position of the leadership in the eyes of Grenadians. The rallies were not a forum for engagement in dialogue or discussion of issues, but a platform to present programmes and directions that had already been established as PRG policy. Rallies had a unidirectional flow of information, orchestrated by theatrical constructs of forceful presentation, loud-speakers, technical jargon, gestures, and sensationalism, complete with dignitaries on the podium to provide the speaker with credibility. This last situation I can personally vouch for, having sat together with

several dozen others on the dais of a rally for the Productive Farmer's Union with a Canadian woman who was especially invited to attend this meeting, the PFU's annual convention. Although I was mercilessly attacked by sandflies throughout the hours of speeches by one PRG leader after another, I sat listening and nodding attentively, the model of acquiescence.

Often as not, though, at large gatherings Grenadians did not sit completely silenced and attentive. There was a continual flow of people from the seats or standing area to the rally fringe, where vendors would provide refreshments. It was not at all unusual for the crowds to leave before the speeches had ended, for the irratic bus system dictated whether thousands would reach their homes that night or not, and it was the bus driver's whim which ended rallies, not the crescendo of the PRG speaker.

Mass Participation or Assessment of the Masses?

What function did the national conferences of consultation about the budget and the National Training Seminar actually have? Certainly these events were always forums for the PRG leadership to make major presentations to large numbers of very influential Grenadians. Was it not that the PRG was again actually presenting policy and enticing the participants into believing that it was their

advice that was required for effective decision-making? It must be recalled that there was no compulsion on the part of the Ministries which sponsored these events to act upon the recommendations that grew out of the consultations. Furthermore, no process was in place for the Grenadian people to accept or reject the policy that they had been asked to participate in creating.

My reflection on this puzzling process has always been to ask: "Why would the PRG have put such effort into participatory structures for educational policy and the development of the annual national budget?" My conclusion was that the PRG perceived these areas to be extremely sensitive ones to the Grenadian people, and that a device was needed to ascertain popular expectations and reactions before policy was enacted. The PRG felt that caution was necessary in these areas and they could not abruptly impose policy on the Grenadian people without risking serious loss of popular support. They were not at all as concerned about autonomous policy decisions with regard to national security nor foreign policy.

NJM Agenda: Orthodox Marxism-Leninism, Not Participatory Democracy

It is hoped that this study will provide evidence of the great effort that the PRG made to develop a

non-capitalist, anti-imperialist, revolutionary social consciousness amongst the Grenadian people. It is likely that had the revolution not been derailed by a coup and then terminated by invasion of US Marine and Caribbean forces, other conclusions would have been drawn about the actual political agenda of the PRG. The unhappy circumstances that now have unfolded as the history of Grenada, have provided researchers of this topic with evidence of the steeply ingrained Marxist-Leninist orientation of the NJM, its inalterable goal to direct Grenada on a non-capitalist route to socialism and eventually communism, through a political process that was called democratic centralism. In this political process, the Central Committee of the party possessed absolute power over the guidance of the developmental programme of the country. Although, the PRG itself was not formed in its entirety by the select Grenadians who were full NJM party members, the Central Committee retained a position of dominance in every state apparatus in Grenada. It was only in the non-secular sector of the Church that the ideologues of the NJM could affect little influence.

It is important to stress that Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement did not overthrow Prime Minister Gairy as communists. They had been engaged in a long nationalist struggle, directed at their country's dictator. They were particularly appalled at his alliances with fascist regimes

such as Pinochet's Chile, from where Gairy had acquired arms. It has been noted in Chapter II, that the involvement of Bernard Coard in the NJM (1976 onward), seemed to have changed its complexion from a revolutionary movement to incorporation into the official communist movement. This orientation was not ever apparent or revealed to the population until the events of the coup spelled out to what extremes certain PRG members would go in their political orthodoxy. Only a simple ten point "Statement of Principles" (see Chapter II) was released by the NJM in the way of a party platform. The 1973 Manifesto was not at all readily available in Grenada, and only through careful examination of proceedings of a conference about Grenada's Independence in 1974, which outlined the platforms of all political parties active in Grenada at that time, did I encounter the NJM Manifesto (published by the University of West Indies, not a source readily available to ordinary Grenadians!).

Public support for the New Jewel Movement revolved around the personality of Maurice Bishop, and around the material benefits that the PRG brought to the Grenadian people. From the early 1970's, Maurice Bishop's profile was as a charismatic, moderate, and approachable leader. As Prime Minister of the PRG, his presence assuaged the fears of Grenadians who may have grown alarmed at the new alliances with socialist and communist countries, the

growing Cuban presence, and the emerging bonds with the Soviet Union. These stances were foreign to Grenada, a former British Colony and current Commonwealth member. Grenadians had a long history of emigration to Britain, the United States, and Canada, to the extent that more people of Grenadian origin lived in these countries than did on the island itself.

It was the arrest and execution of Maurice Bishop and other PRG moderates that alerted Grenadians to, more than any other act, the extremes of which the PRG was capable. Without Maurice Bishop, Grenadians were convinced that the PRG was not to be trusted nor supported. The post-coup revolutionary military council found that they had to institute a severe curfew to maintain control over a distraught and terrorized nation. The Grenadian people welcomed with open arms the invading US and Caribbean forces, feeling greater allegiance with them, in spite of four years of anti-imperialist propaganda and warnings of the advent of this very situation, than to their own Grenadian comrades who struck down a leader so close to their hearts.

The Line of March Speech

The Line of March Speech, a presentation by Maurice Bishop to a general meeting of the NJM party, Monday

September 13, 1982, is one of the crucial documents which outlined the degree of orthodoxy toward Marxist-Leninism which the NJM had generated over their four years of power in Grenada. Before presenting the gist of the speech, however, it is important to describe its source.

The Line of March Speech is one of an "extraordinary collection of captured documents of inestimable value to students of Marxist-Leninist affairs" (Thorndike, 1985:xiv), collected by the USA Marine invading force for use of the U.S.A. Central Intelligence Agency. Thorndike stated that there were "some 25,000 documents" captured (p. 68). Within a fairly short time, many of the documents had been released by the CIA and published in the United States (Seabury and McDougall, The Grenada Papers, 1984).

In this speech, Maurice Bishop, as Chairman of the NJM Central Committee, revealed the party's commitment to orthodox Marxism-Leninism and presented the concerns of the party about bringing Grenada to socialism through the non-capialist route of democratic centralism. In direct opposition to his public avocation of "people's power" in Grenada through their participation in the "mass organisations," Bishop characterized the Grenadian people as being "a very very serious disadvantage" because of their being mostly petit bourgeoisie with a very small working class and because they had a low cultural level. Bishop stated:

> Socialism requires a good level of development of the productive forces, it requires a infrastructural development, it requires agricultural development, it requires industrialization, it requires a high level of cultural development of the people, it requires an even higher level of political development and political consciousness, it requires central planning of the economy and society as a whole, it requires a serious Marxist Leninist vanguard Party leading, guiding and directing the whole process. (Seabury and McDougall, The Grenada Papers, 1984:63)

Bishop's solution to the problem was for the route to socialism to proceed under the leadership of the working class, led by a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. He continued by describing how the NJM Party was in a very good position to proceed with this process:

> We have hegemonic control on power and over all the capital areas of the State...We don't have any upper Petty-bourgeoisie or bourgeoisie in our army or militia...Our Zonal Councils and our Workers Councils and so on. The bourgeoisie is not invited deliberately and consciously, so they don't have the opportunity to come and try to confuse people inside the councils...Five of the eight leading trade unions are under the direct leadership and control of full members, candidate members and applicants of our Party. There is no doubt about it; what we have is hegemony; we have full control. (The Grenada Papers, 1985:70-71)

In the speech, Bishop continued describing how the NJM party could proceed. He advocated flexibility and coalitions with the petit-bourgeoisie on the economic front, but on political questions that affected the

building of socialism, he advised firmness and inflexibility. He advocated the building of a strong Party:

> ...It is the Party that has to be at the head of this process, acting as representatives of the working people and in particular the working class. That is the only way it can be because the working class does not have the ideological development or experience to build socialism on its own. The Party has to be there to ensure that the necessary steps and measures are taken. And it is our primary responsibility to prepare and train the working class for what their historic mission will be later on down the road. That is why the Party has to be built and build rapidly, through bringing in the first sons and daughters of the working class. (The Grenada Papers, p. 73)
> ...Our primary task must be to sink the ideas of Marxism/Leninism amongst the working people so that their own ideological level can advance and they can begin to better understand what we are trying to do and why their class consciousness can be raised in this way. Secondly, of course we can control the development of capitalism through the use of laws and regulations; because one thing we do have is political control (and we have that firmly) so we can decide on how much taxes to charge, we can decide who get credits, we can decide who gets concessions and pioneer incentives, we can decide what kinds of Laws to pass and when, we can decide who to "manners" [discipline, incarcerate] and when. In other words, we can use the apparatus of the State in order to effect those controls. (The Grenada Papers pp. 76-77)

The NJM's Hidden Educational Agenda

To understand how Bishop's words were to be enacted and interpreted by the Grenadian people, it is necessary to refer to Chapter IV, the last section, which details the educational messages presented to Grenadians by the PRG.

Mention was made of PRG-sympathetic media, slogans on bill boards and walls, posters, a new schedule of civic holidays and commemorative events, film festivals featuring Cuba, socialism classes, as well as PRG-hosted meetings and rallies. This ambience was in addition to a North American radio, television, film and newsmagazine culture which was the more traditional and familiar background of Gairy times, and an indigenous culture of calypsos, big drum dances, and other local folklore.

Certainly, Maurice Bishop carried with him considerable personal persuasion influencing almost all Grenadians. He was a central figure that focused much of the support that the PRG received in its programmes, whether volunteer work brigades to repair roads and dammaged schools, support for the international airport project, or tasks such as cleaning up villages to avoid an attack of dengue fever.

Many of the programmes, like the ones mentioned above, had direct and tangible results that any person could appreciate. As long as the PRG programmes provided material gains for Grenadians, they had considerable support from the population. House repair programmes, removal of school fees, financial support for school uniforms and books were on a level that was readily appreciated. But these incentives fed into the materialistic consciousness that the PRG had labled as

petit bourgeouis and undesirable. So hand in hand with the material benefits came a package designed to establish a new ideology.

Pro-Cuba Stance

Ideological interpretations are difficult to generate when in a new culture and a foreign politic. However, various themes seemed to emerge which can be mentioned here with some confidence. The first would have to be the effort of the PRG to establish the new Cuban involvement in the Grenadian society as a positive influence. Certainly, there was very little precedence in Grenada's history from which to build a base, and thus the Cuban presence was established again through material benefit to the ordinary Grenadian people. By providing Grenada with economic aid and personnel such as doctors and dentists, the Cubans gradually became accepted by the population, albeit in a reserved fashion. More than once I was assumed to be a Cuban worker, until people became aware that I spoke English not Spanish. It must be noted that the majority of Cubans who worked in Grenada were on a construction team who excavated and built the international airport. Their presence was accepted gingerly; many Grenadians felt put out of needed employment by this work force. Reading between the lines, now five years after the fact, I am not

surprised to recall several articles in the "Free West Indian" that featured Cuban and Grenadian brothers working together in friendship on the airport site.

Anti-imperialism

A second ideological theme reinforced by the educational programmes of the PRG was a strong anti-imperialist stance. It must be noted that this foreign policy position was strictly geared toward the USA; Grenada did not raise a voice against USSR imperialist tendencies, say in Afghanistan. The presentation of a general anti-USA feeling amongst Grenadians must have built a contradictory psyche amongst the people, who had close personal and family ties with Americans, whose culture they were very familiar with, and whose tourist dollars were a significant pillar of the economy. The PRG did carefully channelled its harsh criticisms of the United States to the state apparatus and its policy of military intervention, particularly in Central America and the Caribbean.

Anti-imperialist themes became rallying points for revolutionary Grenadians. Speeches starkly condemned US foreign policy, slogans on walls stated "No to Imperialism!", bombings were identified as "monsterous crimes...committed by imperialism and its local agents...[conducted by] these vicious beasts of

imperialism" (Bishop, 1984:31). At meetings, manoeuvers, and rallies people chanted: "No, no, no, Imperialism no! No backward reaction can end this revolution! The people united can never be defeated." With just such catch phrases and slogans the PRG brought anti-imperialist impressions to Grenadians, circumventing any deep understanding of the exploitative relationships superpowers maintain with small dependent countries. Perhaps this is partially why, when the long anticipated threat of USA invasion was actualized, many Grenadian people welcomed the force that they had spent four years rallying to fight to the end.

Scientism

Another theme which pervaded PRG public educational programmes was scientism. Change which could be technically enacted in an ends-means approach gained credibility, whether it be through the scientific politic of Marxism-Leninism or a new "scientific" fishing technique. The word "science" or "scientific" became another buzz word, carefully inserted into statements for which the PRG particularly desired unquestioned acquiescence. Even a new pre-primary teacher's programme to be offered in late 1983 through NISTEP was going to provide a "scientific" approach.

The PRG's scientism was not simply the use of buzz words; a reductionist, mechanistic world view was frequently reinforced by the PRG. Technocratic solutions were implemented, divorced from the rich community structure and diverse practice which had evolved in Grenadian society. A brief example would be their ensuring the participation of Grenadians in the Adult Upgrading programme by incorporating its certificate as a necessity for employment possibilities and job promotion.

The most serious outcome of the PRG's scientism was the reductionist manner in which the PRG resolved the leadership dispute between Bernard Coard and Maurice Bishop. Having interpreted the behavioural patterns of the Central Committee members into a simplistic duality of petit-bourgeois or revolutionary behaviour, actions of members which did not fit their codified descriptions of appropriate revolutionary behaviour resulted in dismissal from the Party, or as in the case of Maurice Bishop and seven others, execution. No effort was made to interpret the crisis from a broader perspective which could have examined the reasons for erosion of support for the revolutionary process.

Patriotism

The final ideological theme that will be summarized

here is the PRG's intended undercurrent of patriotism that flowed through every aspect of their interaction with Grenadians. Quite likely this orientation was fueled by threats of USA gunboats maneouvering in the Caribbean waters, the recurring acts of terrorism attributed to imperialism, and nightly surveillance of the island by US aircraft. In the most didactic of circumstances, Grenadians were plummeted with a barrage of messages extolling the virtues of the revolution. Absolute support from the people was sought and little opportunity for criticisms, critical examination, and evaluation were allowed because of the circumstances of an external threat to state security.

The virtues of the Grenadian revolution were sung by visiting delegations from other Marxist-Leninist regimes or socialist-block countries. The PRG-controlled media contained coloured descriptions of PRG programmes, selected to place the PRG in the most favourable of lights. To effect criticism was to be unpatriotic, to join the militia was considered to be patriotic. The ever repeated slogan, "Forward Ever, Backward Never!" seemed to underline the PRG's stance of uncritical acceptance. The Grenadian people were repeatedly told that "A united and determined people can never be turned back" (Bishop, 1984:37).

Critical Reflection upon the PRG'S Educational Programmes

Formal School Settings

The PRG's efforts of educational change were often contradictory to their criticisms of the inherited colonial educational legacy. Extensive descriptions of the PRG's educational changes brought into formal school settings are included in Chapters IV and V.

The PRG did little to change the basic offerings in schools in Grenada despite their criticisms of empty certification and lack of relevancy that the British Colonial system offered to children. The main body of the primary and secondary school curriculum was untouched. The PRG's first actions were not to actually alter schooling offerings but to increase the accessibility of schooling to Grenadian children through reduction and finally elimination of secondary school fees, through expansion of placements in secondary schools, through provision of school uniforms and textbooks for those who displayed their inability to afford these items. These were popularly received programmes and ones the PRG frequently referred to as examples of their concern for Grenadian social welfare.

Secondary school curricular changes entailed the switching of the examination base from the General

Certificate of Education examinations of Britain to the Caribbean Examinations Council, without any fundamental change in the structure of externally-based curricula and competitive examinations. There was the exception that some CXC subjects did require teachers to levy a certain portion of the year's mark based on classroom work and teacher-developed tests. The PRG also accepted Soviet science teachers into their secondary schools.

The PRG's concern for improved schooling provision led to their coordination of a vast voluntary community drive to repair and upgrade schools. During their four years of power, one secondary school and a couple of primary schools were constructed. Severe financial constraints still faced the Ministry of Education during the revolution. The PRG's development planning funnelled state coffers and international aid into projects such as road construction and the building of an international airport, not the much needed revamping of the school system. (Canada's International Development Agency contributed 7 million dollars to a cocoa rehabilitation project.) None the less, the Ministry of Education undertook three extensive educational projects: the National In-Service Teacher Education Programme, the Community School Day Programme, and the Centre for Popular Education. Please note that these programmes are extensively discussed in Chapter V.

NISTEP

NISTEP was an ambitious project. It attempted to revamp a small teachers' college so that it could train all the non-certified teachers in Grenadian primary schools. The three year programme's success hinged upon a work-study approach whereby the teacher-trainees carried on with their classroom duties and received their coursework one day per week from a NISTEP centre. Although the dropout rate from the programme was high, reaching 50% by the end of the 3rd year, the PRG is to be commended for their prompt implimentation of a remedy to a very serious situation of poorly qualified teaching staff.

NISTEP Tutors

The calibre, energy, and commitment of the tutors involved with NISTEP were substantially the reason for the success that the programme had. Of the few NISTEP tutors that I met, they first of all seemed to be particularly committed to the revolutionary process ongoing in Grenada. Of note was Chris Searle, who was very familiar with Marxist-Leninist revolutionary settings having worked with the Mozambican revolution. He greatly encouraged the blossoming of Grenadian revolutionary poetry (see Searle, 1984b). Merle Hodge, writer and educator, contributed the

only new curriculum resource for primary schools developed during the revolution, the Marryshow Readers. She also teamed up on several occasions with Searle to provide the PRG with written accounts of the revolutionary process (Hodge and Searle, n.d., Is Freedom We Making). Ernest Quimby, a black American educator (City University, New York), supported NISTEP's education programme. His hard work was evidenced by the extensive resources prepared for the NISTEP students. (See Primary Texts, Appendix A.) He served the PRG as a photographer of public events. Another tutor that I met was Francis Sookram, a Grenadian who was one of the only tutors to be retained from pre-revolutionary Teachers' College staff. A number of the NISTEP tutors, therefore, carried other responsibilities with the PRG, mostly in building a public profile for the new revolutionary programmes either through publications or photography.

NISTEP Curriculum

The curriculum of the NISTEP programme was surprisingly conservative. It provided the teacher-trainees with a programme thematically similar to any in North America, although allowance was made for local issues, black history, regional geography, and the like. The PRG wished their NISTEP participants to qualify for the

University of West Indies teacher's certificate examinations and they had geared the NISTEP course of studies accordingly. Despite harsh criticisms levied at "empty certification" the PRG fell back upon the evaluative process of the regional institutions indicating the importance of the external measure as a mark of their educational achievement whether it be for the work of secondary students or teacher-trainees.

The most radical departure from standard curricular materials used in NISTEP was the work done by Searle, Braithwaite, and Hodge that experimented with the "decolonization of language" used in the classroom. Braithwaite defined the term thus: "Decolonization [of Grenadian language] would mean that we would have the freedom to use the full range of English, that is not only provincial English and vernacular Englishes, but also our own forms of English...dialect" (Searle, 1981:389).

The tutors, Hodge and Searle, made use of the opportunity of revolution to begin the institutionalization of a Grenadian decolonized language. The many anthologies of poems, essays, speeches, and interviews, and particularly the Marryshow Readers for early primary students that they edited, although they may have not been credited, were proof of their determination to have the Grenadian environment reflected in local literature, not the external authority of Standard English and imported

literature. It is quite possible that of all the revolutionary changes in Grenada, it is this effort to legitimize and institutionalize both vocabulary and syntax of the local language and integrate it into Standard English, that will have a profound and lasting impact upon the society and school system.

The Grenadian Teacher

This study did not attain sufficient data to adequately ascertain a description of teacher satisfaction although general trends can be extrapolated.

First, it is almost certain that most Grenadian teachers, particularly primary teachers, felt inadequately trained, underpaid, and without the respect from the community that their postion merited. To this list vulnerability must also be added. Both Prime Ministers Gairy and Bishop considered the schools to be such politically sensitive areas that they readily placed educators sympathetic to their positions as administrators in key schools. A teaching position was seen by many as a stop-gap measure in a career, lacking sufficient income to provide a reasonable standard of living, but a job when one had completed secondary school.

Consider the deplorable teaching conditions: a teacher-pupil ratio as high as 1:51 at the beginning of the

revolution; overcrowded, noisy teaching spaces; few texts and teaching aids; chronic absenteeism and truancy which reached 40% by 1983; a disciplinary code which involved flogging children. No wonder teachers were despondent. Although some teachers became involved in the opportunities for positive change that the PRG offered, many were cautious and reticent, gaining the label "reactionary." When any opportunity rose for them to leave the island and emigrate elsewhere, they quickly left.

In time, the PRG sympathizers in the teaching profession gained positions of control in the teachers' unions; through this process the teachers' organizations grew to support the educational programmes of the PRG.

CSDP's Role

The PRG programmes must have placed an additional burden on teachers already highly taxed. Schools were expected to carry out normal functions during the three years that the NISTEP programme trained unqualified teachers. Although the programme withdrew the teacher-trainees merely one day per week, this had a seriously disruptive effect on all schools, particularly small rural schools where the greatest number of unqualified teachers worked. No substitute teachers were employed to compensate for the NISTEP teacher-trainees.

The administrators and trained staff were to transcend the shortfall by bringing in work study approaches of the Community School Day Programme. The staff were to initiate the development of a new voluntary community committee, the Community School Council, find local skilled individuals who would voluntarily contribute to the Community School Day Programme, and ensure the success of a practical approach in a social climate that resisted practical knowledge.

It is due to the great effort and competence of several school administrators, classroom teachers, CSDP coordinators, and community volunteers that CSDP did manage to gain a foothold and have some success in several schools. The spin-off benefits to these schools were: community-school interaction, imparting of practical skills to students, relevant school projects related to the local economy, a certain amount of material support from Oxfam-Canada that supplied basic gardening tools and seeds, and eventually crops for consumption in the school meals programme or for sale, generating much needed cash.

For schools unable to cope with the burden of two new programmes to juggle into an already oppressive teaching environment with completely inadequate resources and training, their reaction to leave students unattended, eventuating in absenteeism during CSDP days, may have been at least a realistic response to the demands placed upon

them.

Just to summarize, the PRG, faced with an overwhelming problem in the schools, which was recognized by all teachers as seriously shortchanging the potential of Grenadian youth, needed to act in a decisive, economical, and astute fashion. They chose to patch up the schools as best could be done with volunteer labour, to upgrade the unqualified primary teachers in a fashion that would allow them to continue their teaching duties, and to call upon community volunteers to contribute to gaps left in the educational programme. I feel certain that this plan, rock-bottom in financial investment and moderately disruptive to students, did allow for a few curricular experiments in practical, locally-relevant education which suited the PRG's philosophy. It is perhaps logistical factors which partially hampered the viability of the community-school connection.

The Impact of Poor Transportation

Because of its diminuitive size, Grenadians frequently lived in one location and worked in another. The ferrying to and fro, from school to home, was facilitated by both private and eventually public transit systems. Although quite adequate to accomodate commuting during the weekday, the system was erratic if not completely usurped in the

evenings. Very few teachers had access to their own vehicles, and bicycles were not useful because of terrible potholes in the roads, a mountainous terrain, and extremely dangerous driving practices. Had the Grenadian teachers been residents of the communities where they taught, or had they been able to become involved in the communities after school hours and in the evenings, likely they could have built a stronger community-school liason.

Agricultural Education, the Achilles Heel

The PRG held back from autocratically enforcing dramatic content changes in the regular school system. It was not until 1983, when the PRG felt their popularity and support slipping, that political education became mandatory and religious education was curtailed (Thorndike, 1985:110). Even so, the PRG's emphasis upon agricultural education to in some way build upon Grenada's agricultural mainstay, was not readily nor easily ascribed to by Grenadian teachers. Although quite willing to present lectures, diagrams, and terminology within the classroom setting, many rebelled at the physical activities of breaking ground, preparing seed beds, planting, hoeing, watering, and harvesting. The students resisted, too. Perhaps, they both considered that they were being coerced into the very work from which their education was to grant

them an exit. Frequently, the agricultural projects fell to the primary school leavers, those who had not gained entry to the secondary schools, and would be seeking jobs in the agricutural and fishing sectors, should there be any to be found. With this action, the purpose of cross-grade involvement was lost.

Summary

This section of the chapter has focused on the formal educational changes the PRG brought into Grenadian schools. The PRG was hesitant to enact dramatic change because a significant part of their popular support was sustained through programmes which increased school offerings and placements, trained unqualified teachers, and opened a few new schools. Despite the PRG's condemnation of empty certification, they carried on with externally-based examinations, although they encouraged replacement of GCE's with the CXC regionally-based system. Unable to commit much of their budget to education, they tried to coordinate volunteer help for schools, through repairs and sharing of expertise. Some effort was made to channel overseas aid to the schools, but this was definitely not granted the priority which road repairs and the construction of the international airport had. By far, the extraordinary efforts of exemplary tutors, administrators, teachers, and

community members created the programme successes that were realized. This study concludes that the PRG wanted to first build a more vibrant economy, resolve its serious unemployment problem, and secure its political position, then it would invest energies and assets into the revamping of the educational system.

Critical Reflections upon the Centre for Popular Education

Whereas the PRG felt that the formal school system was far too politically sensitive an institution to enact their political message, when they had established the Centre for Popular Education they had absolute control of a new institution that could be used to approach the working classes of Grenada with a politically-loaded educational package. The reader is reminded that the many aspects of the the CPE's work (Adult Literacy, Phase I; Adult Upgrading to school leaving, Phase II) was carefully presented in the third section of Chapter V.

In conjunction with the non-formal educational components presented to Grenadians through rallies, marches, billboards, and the like, Phase I and II of CPE's programme was designed by the PRG to generate a new social consciousness amongst the Grenadian worker that the PRG considered to be essential to a successful revolutionary movement.

In no other educational endeavour launched by the PRG was the support of Cuban advisors and Cuban aid so crucial, except perhaps the scholarship programme to study in Cuba that hundreds of Grenadians participated in.

Aside from the opportunity to impart anti-imperialist, patriotic, and conciliatory messages through the literacy manual to Grenadian workers, the CPE Phase I was viewed by the PRG as a great opportunity to mobilize the people into a massive campaign. Ultimately, this was seen by the PRG as Phase I's greatest success. Unfortunately, the literacy campaign in Grenada did not bridge great social gaps between urban middle-class and rural poor that the Cuban and Nicaraguan literacy crusades facilitated. Unlike Cuba and Nicaragua, where literacy workers travelled to remote villages and shared several months of a humble but proud life with their students, Grenadian literacy workers could easily accomplish a couple of hours of the programme with their students without dramatic disruption of their daily lifestyle. They lost out on a lesson valuable to the revolution.

The second phase of CPE, the adult upgrading component, was dependent in its success upon the willingness of teachers, already overwhelmed with their daytime classroom duties, plus NISTEP, plus CSDP. They were to commit themselves to extra three hour teaching assignments two or three times a week. This programme was

initiated in mid-1983 and by June, the "Free West Indian" was indicating difficulties in recruiting teachers.

The Phase II Adult Education books were a remarkable achievement of the revolution. The curricular skeleton was a staid, academic upgrading to secondary level in English grammar, basic mathematics, and natural science. In the readings offered in the English component wonderful references to Grenadian history, culture, folklore, flora and fauna, and antics emerged. The PRG did ingrain them with both obvious and subtle references to their political agenda. Perhaps this is why the PRG ensured full participation of Grenadian workers in the programme by granting those who completed the programme a certificate which became mandatory for employment opportunities and job promotion. Certainly in this facet of education, the PRG demonstrated its capacity for control over Grenadians.

Overview

The PRG was vehemently distressed with their colonial educational legacy because it maintained in the Grenadian society a context divorced from the people's political, economic, and social reality and perpetuated the knowledge of an external authority base. This had been used against the Grenadian people all throughout their history. Yet, the New Jewel Movement's own choice of a Marxist-Leninist

political direction usurped the Grenadian people once again of the development of a politic based on their own understanding of reality and social interaction. The revolutionary leadership did not commit class-suicide and avail themselves to the needs of the Grenadian people, in whose confidence and trust they acted as a revolutionary power. They instead created a new elite, the New Jewel Movement Party, hiearchically arranged with the power positioned in the insular Central Committee. From this vantage, the vanguard party referenced to yet another external authority, the writings of Marx and Lenin interpreted by Soviet scholars, strove to change the collective consensus, the social construct of reality of Grenadians through a barrage of carefully controlled educational messages and programmes, and by the soothing presence of a charismatic leader. Because the traditional school system was so important an institution for Grenadian people and granted their children a remote possibility to gain entry into Western society, the revolutionaries dared not interfere with its functioning lest they jeopardize the trust granted them by Grenadians. Instead they reinforced and expanded schooling offerings, trained teachers, and made small but significant headway in a culturally relevant language arts and an economically viable agricultural education curricula.

Key to their vanguard role, these revolutionaries

devised a plan to bring Grenadian workers through an educational programme they believed benefitted a working class revolution. Assisted by Cuban adult educators, the Grenadian state introduced a Literacy and Adult Upgrading programme and ensured its acceptance by establishing the proramme's certification as necessary for advancement. Despite Paulo Freire's assistance to the PRG's Ministry of Education, critical consciousness and emancipatory programmes did not received foremost attention from the revolutionaries who distrusted the intentions of the Grenadian workers.

None-the-less, the PRG addressed many pressing issues of health, social welfare, built the economy, created participatory avenues for citizens, and buoyed the spirits of Grenadians, despondent after years of oppression suffered under their former Prime Minister E.M. Gairy. Although detention without trial was prevalent, individual civil liberties had improved greatly and many Grenadians and their visitors appreciated a peaceful, friendly society.

Through their foreign policy, the revolutionaries, particularly with their close relationship to Cuba and growing interest with the Soviet Union, alienated the nearby superpower, the United States. They also disrupted relations with many of their neighbours in the region. Disproportionate to their size, the Grenadian

revolutionaries gained a significant profile amongst the Non-Alligned Movement, African nationalists, and national liberation movements. All this was in face of American disconcertion that they were losing influence in Central America and the Caribbean.

Whether the discord amongst the NJM Central Committee was orchestrated by an external force, or grew out of increasing tensions, burn-out, flagging support, and an exaggerated attachment to orthodox conduct, the revolution was derailed. The completely disruptive effect of the coup, the execution of the moderate PRG leadership, and the invasion of the island reveals to students of this revolutionary process, just how little the PRG had gained during its four years of power.

A GRENADIAN POST SCRIPT

o Following the invasion of October 25, 1983, the American and Caribbean forces maintained their presence for about a year.

o Fourteen PRG leaders, including Bernard Coard and his wife Phyllis Coard were condemmed to death by a Grenadian jury for the killing of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, three cabinet members, and seven others on October 19, 1983, during the coup. Appeals are pending.

o An election was held in December, 1984. The two remaining PRG ministers were not able to rebuild a viable

party, and garnered few votes for their Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. Other contenders were Herbert Blaize, E.M. Gairy, and George Brizan. Herbert Blaize and his New National Party were successful.

o Unemployment has risen drastically; prostitution, crime and drug trafficing are greatly increased.

o The 1983 NISTEP graduates are lobbying to gain recognition for their UWI certification.

o The dilligent and conscientious expatriat workers for the revolution: NISTEP Tutors, the Permanent Secretary for Education, etc., are now all scattered throughout the Caribbean, North America, and Europe.

o The cottage where I lived for four months with my Danish and St. Vincent housemates is shown in a National Geographic aerial photograph, completely destroyed.

Personal Reflections

It is now over six years since I decided to discover for myself some of the problems people in developing countries face, and the role education plays in resolving these problems. In 1981, I was a high school science teacher in rural Saskatchewan, listening with fascination to the stories of an intern teacher who had just returned from a year with CUSO teaching in Nigeria. I felt very isolated, unaware, caught up in my own hectic schedule, and overwhelmed by the tremedous gap of my own experience and

the vivid images of life in a Third World country developed by my intern, Colleen Keast.

I see now that the process of this study was really in three stages. First was the planning and preparation, the visit to Grenada, the collecting of the data--a rich, experiential time. Then when I returned to Canada, a second stage emerged, that of reinterpreting my own society and trying to place my Grenadian experience in a context especially in light of the horrible shock of the coup, the murdering of the PRG moderates, and the invasion. The third stage was my lenghty rumination over what had been going on in Grenada, the strengths and weaknesses of the revolution, reflection on education and its role in society, also how the state utilizes the curriculum for its own ends. I was greatly assisted by the writings of several authors, whose works have been a valuable contribution to this study. This last stage was the most arduous, painful, and ultimately, rewarding; this written work is the product of this final stage.

Several factors are significant to this study. The first is the broad base that it assumed, curriculum as an all encompasing experience which could entail political messages and school texts. Having a broad base would have meant little, without the ability to experience a great variety of settings in Grenada, a second significant factor of this study. The Grenadian people and the People's

Revolutionary Government, greatly facilitated my broad exposure through their friendly openness and their willingness to have visitors view their programmes and collect their resources.

The third factor which affected this study, was really a failure. I had hoped to direct my original broad inspection of the Grenadian educational and social, cultural, political environment into a much more focused project, along the lines of an agricultural science curriculum. Because I did not attain funding for that study, and with the abrupt derailing of the revolution by invasion, I was forced to undergo a broad examination of the information that I had been privileged to gather.

A final factor contributing to the third stage of the study has been the past three years which I have spent as an educator in a third world resource centre providing in-service to teachers and sessions to classrooms on the problems of developing countries. These three years have provided an important opportunity to re-think the role of revolution, the role of education, and gain better insights into how social change has taken place in other countries.

By studying Grenada, I was afforded the opportunity to examine dramatic social change in a small, readily examined society. The Grenadian state offered a microcosm from which to analyze dependancy; colonialism; economic, political, and cultural vulnerability; and the impact of

these conditions on people and their institutions, political and educational.

Certainly the history of the efforts and programmes of the People's Revolutionary Government, as related in this study, must be contextualized within the paramaters of the economic straits the country was under, the years of oppression that Grenada had gone through, the external pressures felt from the United States and other countries in the Caribbean region, and the limits of the human resources of the New Jewel Movement. Through this study, I hope that I have been able to share some of my experience and the knowledge that I have gained about a brief period in the tumultuous history of a small country, so that ultimately, there can be a building upon the efforts of those such as Maurice Bishop and Jacqueline Creft, without the same drastic mistakes happening over again.

The People's Revolutionary Government did have great accomplishments during their four short years of power. Their revolutionary action to dipose Eric Gairy will long be revered by the Grenadian people. They instituted three new educational programmes: NISTEP, CSDP, and CPE, as well as expanded the primary and secondary school placements. Their efforts gained revolutionary Grenada international financial assistance, through financial and material aid, and through loans. Although in merely the initial stages, their efforts to build Grenada's economy by reducing

expensive imports, diversifiying the agricultural base of the country, and by building the fishing and forestry sectors were also having the positive effect of generating much needed employment and curtailing emigration from the island. The completion of the international airport would have provided a much needed infusion in the tourism sector. Certainly these were fundamental factors which led to the growth in the Gross National Product from US$54.6m (1979) to US$61.2m (1982).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ajeyalemi, D.A., and Maskill, R. A Survey of Studies of Science Classroom Activities with Particular Reference to their Usefulness for Developing Countries. Journal of Chemical Education, April, 1981, 58, 361-2.

Altbach, P.G., and Kelly, G.P. Education and Colonialism. New York: Longmans, 1978.

Ambursley, Fitzroy. Whither Grenada? An Investigation into the March 13th Revolution One Year After. In Susan Craig (Ed.), Contemporary Caribbean: A Sociological Reader (Vol. 2). Trinidad: Susan Craig, Publ., 1981.

Andreyev, I. The Non-Capitalist Way. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974.

Bacchus, M. K. Education for Development or Underdevelopment. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980.

Bishop, Maurice. Forward Ever! Three Years of the Grenadian Revolution: Speeches of Maurice Bishop. Sydney: Pathfinder Press, 1982.

Bishop, Maurice. In Nobody's Backyard: Maurice Bishop's Speeches 1979-1983: A Memorial Volume. Chris Searle (Ed.). London: Zed Books, 1984.

Bowles, Samuel and Gintis, Herbert. Schooling in Captialist America. New York: Basic Books, 1976.

Brizan, George. Grenada: Island of Conflict: From Amerindians to People's Revolution 1498-1979. London: Zed Books, 1984.

Brock, Colin. The Legacy of Colonialism in West Indian Education. In Keith Watson (Ed.) Education in the Third World. London: Croom Helm, 1982.

Carnoy, Martin Education as Cultural Imperialism. New York: David McKay Company, 1974.

Carnoy, M. Education for Alternative Development. Comparative Education Review, June 1982, 126(2), pp. 160-177.

Coard, Bernard. How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System. London: New Beacon Books, Caribbean Education and Community Workers' Association, 1971.

Coard, B., Carrol, S., Gonzales, A., Jacobs, R. and Linton, N.

(Eds.). Independence for Grenada: Myth or Reality? St. Augustine, Trinidad: Institute of International Relations, 1974.

Dolgoff, Sam. The Cuban Revolution: A Critical Perspective. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1976.

Dore, Ronald. The Diploma Disease. Berkeley: George Allen and Unwin, (University of California Press), 1975.

Emmanuel, Patrick. Crown Colony Politics in Grenada, 1917-1951. Cave Hill, Barbados: University of West Indies, Institute of Social and Economic Research (Eastern Caribbean), 1978.

EPICA Task Force. Grenada: The Peaceful Revolution. Washington, D.C.: Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Communication and Action, 1982.

Frederick, Eddie. From Camahogne to Free Grenada: A Brief Introduction to the History of Grenada. Grenada: Grenada National Museum, n.d.

Grenada: Facts and Figures. Grenada: Central Statistical Office, 1980.

Gumbs, Wycherly. Social and Educational Change in a Revolutionary Society: Grenada 1930-1981 (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1982). (University Microfilms International No. 8219926)

Habermas, J. Knowledge and Human Interests. (Jeremy Shapiro, Trans.). Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

Hall, B. L. Creating Knowledge: Breaking the monopoly: Research Methods, Participation and Development. Toronto: Participatory Research Group, 1976 (Working Paper No. 1).

Harber, Clive. Weapon of War: Political Education in Zimbabwe. Journal of Curriculum Studies, 1985, 17(2), pp. 163-174.

Harold, Brent. Education or Death: Discovering the Meaning of Education in a Revolutionary Society. Radical Teacher, 1984, (25), pp. 29-33; 46.

Hart, Richard. Grenada: Assessment of the Revolution. (Lecture delivered at the University of West Indies, March 21, 1984) Grenada Update. Kingston, Jamaica: Jamaica Committee for the Defence of Human Rights, 1984.

Hodge, M. and Searle, C. Is Freedom We Making. St. George's, Grenada: Fedon Publishers, n.d.

Hosein, Everold N. The Problem of Imported Television Content in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Caribbean Quarterly, December 1976, 22(4), pp. 7-25.

Jacobs, W. Richard and Jacobs, Ian. Grenada: The Route to Revolution. Havana: Casa De Las Americas, 1980.

Jennings-Wray, Z. Agricultural Education and Work Experience Programmes in Schools in a Third World Country: What Prospects for Human Resources Development? Comparative Education, 1982, 18(3), pp. 281-292.

Jennings-Wray, Z. and Teape, V. Jamaica's Work Experience Programme. Prospects, 1982, XII(4), pp. 499-509.

Kingsbury, Robert. Commercial Geography of Grenada. (Office of Naval Research, Technical Report No. 3) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960.

Kozol, Jonathan. Children of the Revolution. New York: Dalacorte Press, 1978.

Latin American Bureau. Grenada: Whose Freedom? London: Latin American Bureau (Research and Action), 1984.

Levine, Barry B. (Ed.). The New Cuban Presence in the Caribbean. Boulder: Westview Press, 1983.

Lillis, Kevin and Hogan, D. Dilemmas of Diversification: Problems Associated with Vocational Education in Developing Countries. Comparative Education, 1983, 19(1), pp. 89-107.

Lynch, Charles. Education and the New Grenada. The Black Scholar, July/August 1981, 12(4), pp. 13-24.

Mackie, Robert (Ed.). Literacy and Revolution: The Pedagogy of Paulo Freire. New York: Continuum Publ., 1981.

Maingot, Anthony. Cuba and the Commonwealth Caribbean: Playing the Cuban Card. In B. B. Levine (Ed.) The New Cuban Presence in the Caribbean. Boulder: Westview Press, 1983.

Marcus, B. and Taber, M. (Eds.). Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenadian Revolution 1979-83. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1983.

Masemann, Vandera. Critical Ethnography in the Study of Comparative Education. Comparative Education Review, February 1982, 26, pp. 1-15.

New Jewel Movement. Manifesto of the New Jewel Movement. In Independence for Grenada - Myth or Reality? St. Augustine,

Jamaica: University of West Indies, Institute for International Relations, 1974, pp. 143-156.

O'Shaughnessy, Hugh. Grenada: Revolution, Invasion and Aftermath. London: Sphere Books, 1984.

Oxtoby, Robert. Vocational Education and Development Planning: Emerging Issues in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Comparative Education, October 1977, 13(3), pp. 223-242.

Payne, Anthony. Revolutionary Politics in Grenada. The Round Table, 1980, 70(280), pp. 381-388.

Payne, Anthony, Sutton, Paul and Thorndike, Tony. Grenada: Revolution and Invasion. London: Croom Helm, 1984.

Prince, Rod. Clean Bill of Health for the Outcast of the Islands. South, February 1983, pp. 70-71.

Rickards, Colin (Ed.). Caribbean Yearbook 1978/79. Toronto: Caribook, 1980.

Sarup, Madan. Marxism and Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.

Schubert, William H. The Return of Curriculum Inquiry from Schooling to Education. Curriculum Inquiry, 1982, 12(2), pp. 221-232.

Schultz, Theodore W. Investment in Human Captal. In J. Karabal and A. H. Halsey (Eds.) Power and Ideology in Education. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Seabury, Paul and McDougall, W. A. (Eds.). The Grenada Papers. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1984.

Searle, Chris. Grenada's Revolution: An Interview with Bernard Coard. Race and Class, 1979, XXI(2), pp. 171-187.

Searle, Chris. Message to Grenada: An Interview with Edward Braithwaite. Race and Class, 1981, XXII(4), pp. 387-394.

Searle, Chris. Grenada: The Struggle Against Destabilization. London: Writers and Readers Publ. Coop. Society, 1983.

Searle, Chris. Maurice Bishop on Destabilization: An interview by Chris Searle. Race and Class, 1984a, XXV(3), pp. 1-13.

Searle, Chris. Words Unchained: Language and Revolution in Grenada. London: Zed Books, 1984b.

Singham, A. W. The Hero and the Crowd in a Colonial Polity. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

Smith, Michael G. Stratification in Grenada. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965.

Steele, Beverly. Social Stratification in Grenada. In B. Coard, C. Gajraj, A. Gonzales, R. Jacobs, and N. Linton (Eds.) Independence for Grenada - Myth or Reality? St. Augustine, Jamaica: University of West Indies, Institute of International Relations, 1974a.

Steele, Beverly. Grenada, an Island State, It's History and It's People. Caribbean Quarterly, 1974b, 20(1), pp. 5-43.

Thomas, Murray. Politics and Education: Cases from Eleven Nations. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1983.

Thorndike, Tony. Grenada: Politics, Economics and Society. London: Frances Pinter, 1985.

Wald, Karen. Children of Che: Childcare and Education in Cuba. Paulo Alto, California: Ramparts Press, 1978.

Willis, Paul. Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.

Young, Michael F. D. (Ed.). Knowledge and Control. London: Collier-Macmillan, 1971.

APPENDIX A

PRIMARY TEXTUAL SOURCES

NISTEP TEXTUAL SOURCES - 1981

PRIMARY TEXTUAL SOURCES

Adult Education Books 1 - 4, National Technical Commission. Cuba: Published jointly by Centre for Popular Education of the Ministry of Education, Grenada and the Publishing House Pueblo y Education of the Ministry of Culture, 1982.

Agricultural Training and School Meals Production. Project proposal from Agency for Rural Transformation, Beausejour, St. George's, Grenada: mimeo, n.d.

Agricultural Science Syllabus. Barbados: Caribbean Examinations Council, 1979.

Alexander, Daniel (ed). Mirabeau Agricultural Training School Student's Magazine. Grenada: mimeo, 1981-82.

Bishop, Maurice. A New Kind of Teacher for the New Society, speech at the opening of the National Training Seminar, Teachers' College. St. George's, Grenada: mimeo, Friday, January 4th, 1980.

A Budget to Benefit the People. Grenada: mimeo, 1980.

Caribbean Monthly Bulletin. Puerto Rico: University of Puerto Rico, Institute of Caribbean Studies, Vol. 17, No. 3-4, March - April, 1983.

Carriacou and Petit Martinique: In the Mainstream of the Revolution. St. George's, Grenada: Fedon Publishers, 1982.

Classes and Class Struggle. Grenada: mimeo, n.d.

Coard, Bernard. Work Harder, Produce More, Build Grenada: Report on the National Economy for 1981 and the Prospects for 1982. Grenada: Ministry of Planning, Finance and Trade, mimeo, 1982.

Community School Day Programme. Grenada: People's Revolutionary Government, Ministry of Education, pamphlet, n.d.

Community School Day Programme. Grenada: mimeo, n.d.

The Cooperator. Vol 1. no. 1. Grenada: National Cooperative Development Agency, mimeo, n.d.

Cornwall, Valerie. Report on the Adult Literacy Campaign, Grenada, July 1980-March 1981. Presented at the Seventh Technical meeting of Integrated Adult Education, Prede, Bogota, Columbia: mimeo, October 26 - Nov. 4, 1981.

Free West Indian: The National Newspaper of Grenada. Grenada: Vol. III No. 2 - Vol. III No. 70, March 13, 1982 to November 20, 1982.

Freedom Has No Price: An Anthology of Poems. Bridgetown, Barbados: Modern Printing and Graphics, 1980.

Gebon, Renalph. M. Poems for Children. Grenada: mimeo, n.d.

Grenada is Not Alone: Speeches by the People's Revolutionary Government at the First International Conference in Solidarity with Grenada, November, 1981. Grenada: Fedon Publishers, 1982.

Grenadian Syllabi in Use, 1981:
Syllabus of Work: Agricultural Science
5036 Agricultural Science, O'Level, Syllabus
Ordinary Level School Certificate 5070 Chemistry
Biology (5090) - Ordinary Level and School Certificate
Physics (5050) - Detailed Syllabus

In the Spirit of Butler: Trade Unionism in Free Grenada. Grenada: Fedon Publishers, 1982.

Indies Times. Grenada: mimeo, Vol. I, No. 3., April 21, 1984 and Vol. I, No. 4, April 28, 1984.

Jules, Didacus and Cornwall, Valerie (eds). Tongues of the New Dawn. Bridgetown, Barbados: Modern Printing and Graphics, 1981.

Let Us Continue Reading. Grenada: Centre for Popular Education, Ministry of Education, Feb., 1981 (with teacher's guide) and May, 1982 (2nd Ed.).

Let Us Learn Together (Adult Literacy Manual) and Forward Ever (Teacher's Guide). Free Grenada: Centre for Popular Education, Ministry of Education, 1980.

Manuel, Sam and Pulley, Andrew. Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1981.

Newsletter - CSDP Vol. 1, no.2. Grenada: Community School Day Programme, 1982.

The Social Studies Approach. Grenada: Curriculum Development Unit, Ministry of Education, mimeo, 1980.

Teachers Speak on Education for National Development: Workshop Reports: National Teachers' Seminar, January, 1980. St. George's, Grenada: Ministry of Education, October, 1981.

Work Study Approach for Community Education Report: Paulo Freire Workshop. 20-28 February, 1980. Grenada: Curriculum Development, Ministry of Education, mimeo, n.d.

NISTEP TEXTUAL SOURCES - 1981

Alexandra, Clara Franklin. Black English Dialect and the Classroom Teacher: A Look at Black English Dialect and Suggestions for Classroom Activities for Students who Speak It, from The Reading Teacher. Feb. 1980, 33(5).

Education:
General Objectives.
Learning as the Psychologist Sees It.
Maturation.
Module 2: The Concept of Readiness and Pacing.
Domains of Learning.
Domains of Learning: A Classification of Educational Objectives in the Psychomotor Domain (Simpson, 1972).
The Nature of Learning.
The Nature of Learning: Learning Skills.
Module 3: Lesson Plan: Planning a Lesson In Line with a Learning Act.
Planning Lessons, Behavourial Objectives.
Preparing and Planning - Topic: Teacher Made Tests - Writing Multiple Choice Items.
Module 4: Introduction to Educational Research. Topic: A Classification of Educational Research.
Introduction to Educational Research. Topic: Drawing up a Questionnaire.
Introduction to Educational Research. Topic: Interviews and Interview Schedules (With study guide).
The Nature of Learning.
Readings: Biehler, R. Psychology Applied to Teaching from Motivation: Theory and Application.
Teaching Skills: Suggestions for Putting the Techniques of Demonstration and Verbal Guidance into Practice in Teaching Skills.

Incidental Learning.

Language Arts. Module 1: Language and Colonialism

Ndahi, Kujara S. The Place of Grammar in the Teaching of English. From The Nigerian Language Teacher. 1977, 1(2).

Quimby, Ernest. Photography and Visual Aids: Educational Documentation, Information and Usage. August, 1981.

Suggestions for Physical Education Classes.

Synthesis of Group Reports by Teacher-Trainees submitted to Education Course.

The Teaching of English Grammatical Patterns.

Untitled. Interview by Chris Searle with Edward Braithwaite: How do you think British Colonialism used the English language to strengthen and consolidate its grip on the colonial people of the Caribbean? London: August 30, 1980.

Untitled. Teacher-trainees lesson evaulation sheet.

Wheat, T. E., Galen, N. D. and Norwood, Molly. Initial Reading Experiences for Linguistically Diverse Learners. From The Reading Teacher. 1979, 33(1).

Wilson, Donald G. Rationale of a West Indian Language Arts Course for Primary Schools. From Caribbean Journal of Education. 1977,4(3).

APPENDIX B

TEACHERS SPEAK

TEACHERS SPEAK

Summary of Workshop Reports on the Two Papers: A critical examination of Grenada's educational system. A new Curriculum for primary schools.

(Source: Teachers Speak on Education for National Development, Workshop Reports, National Teachers' Seminar, St. George's, Grenada. January, 1980. Ministry of Education, Grenada. Pp. 62-69)

1. Colonialism

A number of groups stated that they agreed that Grenada's educational system was indeed still largely colonial. One group went so far as to declare "Teachers should try to remove the shackles of colonialism from themselves before they try to help the children in that exercise".

2. Advantages of middle class children

A number of groups expressed some concern at the disadvantages of poorer chidren within the educational system, and came up with suggestions as to what could be done to alleviate these disadvantages. Two of these suggestions were:

(a) that teachers should get more involv-

ed with parents of poorer children to encourage them to take a greater interest in their child's education.

(b) that poorer children could be given special responsibilities on "job charts" in the classroom "to give them a chance to feel more responsible and important".

3. Pre-primary education

The most repeated comments on this topic were:

(i) a call for government to take over responsibility for pre-primary education.

(ii) for more training for teachers at this level, including a plea for this to be a special option at the teacher training college.

Otherwise a number of groups suggested that pre-primary schools should be located nearer to primary schools, so that primary school teachers especially those who are qualified can assist in the teaching and to ensure smoother transition between pre-primary and primary schools. Further, groups suggested that the Ministry should do careful investigations of intended facilities etc. before

these schools are given permission to open.

4. Primary schools

(i) Teacher training: This clearly involved a lot of discussion among groups. The most repeated suggestion was for a longer induction course for teachers starting in the schools. Otherwise there were calls for increased inservice training, for existing qualified teachers to help others not exposed to formal training, and for teachers to do more reading themselves.

(ii) Distribution of children and teachers: A number of groups called for a limit on the size of classes (25 - 30). There were a number of calls for teachers to be allocated to schools nearer their own communities, and one groups suggested that a teachers' religious affiliation should not be a barrier to employment in a school. With respect to the placement of children several groups emphasized the parents' right, but more suggested that children be sent to the school nearest to where they live. With respect to the question of why this did not

happen more often, several groups pointed to personal conflicts between children or between parents and particular teachers. A large number of groups found it necessary to emphasize that one of the most important things to be done to encourage this pattern was for teachers themselves to behave in a more exemplary manner so that schools would be more respected, and for there to be better relations between principals and teachers since in a number of cases things are so bad that the image of the school is being affected.

(iii) Overage enrolment:

Several groups pointed out that a major reason why children are not sent to school earlier is because older children have to stay home to baby-sit younger ones, and so suggested the provision of day care centres for younger children of working mothers. Groups further pointed to the problem of repeaters as a cause of overage enrolment. They suggested that in some cases children are actually retarded, and should be sent to special schools. Some groups suggested that brighter children could be used to help bring up the slower ones, and a number of groups expressed the view that promotion should

be automatic and the system of keeping down children to repeat a year should be abandoned.

(iv) Most of the groups called for greater emphasis on technical education within the schools and several groups related this to the need for greater community participation by suggesting that farmers, craftsmen etc. in the community come and do demonstrations in the school and that schools have more "field trips" into the community.

(v) Most groups called for a standardization of school curriculum.

5. Most groups looking at the question of the Junior Secondary school suggested that there should be some re-examination of the role of these schools. Several groups were of the view that they should offer a more comprehensive type education. There were several calls for junior secondary teachers to be specialist rather than class teachers.

6. Teacher training: Many teachers are of the view that the present teacher training college course needs revision, and that there is currently not enough attention paid to practical methods of teaching. One

group suggested that there should be greater use of "educational projects" by the college for practical teaching exercises.

7. New curriculum: Several groups did not have time to discuss this paper in detail, and one report in fact states this explicitly. For those that did, the common elements was a stated support for a work study programme. To promote this, several groups called for organized work projects within schools, some groups stressing use of the co-operative principle.
On the question of the curriculum groups reiterated the call for greater stress on creativity, communication and expression and less on mere passing of exams: "Material taught in the schools should provide enough enjoyment, creativity, meaningfulness and success for pupils".
On the question of language one group called for English to be taught "but treated as a foreign language".
Several groups called for a system of continuous assessment rather than one-shot examinations.

APPENDIX C

POEMS FOR CHILDREN

POEMS FOR CHILDREN

By Renalph Gebon

(Source: Mimeographed by the Production Unit of the National Teacher In-Service Training Programme, Tempe, St. George's, Grenada. Not dated)

Fred Dee Dread

Fred dee dread;
E eat no bread,
E plaiting E head,
E peeing in bed.

Fred can chew;
E wearing old shoe;
E clothes so dirty;
E smell so nasty.

Dis E say,
Dee udder day:
I tals and vitals,
Kallie for brainy;
No dead-as brudders

Fred dee dread,
E really dread,
E really natty dread;
E soon go dead:
That natty dread:
I-ree down day

The Coals Burner

Chop!
Chop!
Chop!
Choping away;
Arms in full sway,
All the day.

Pull!
Pull!
Pull!
Pulling along,
As to a song,
All day long.

Tumble!
Fumble!
Grumble!
At the fall,
Of the logs,
In the sun or fog.

Chop!
Chop!
Pack!
Pack!
Close together,
Saving bother.

Dig!
Dig!
Digging away;
That's the way,
He'll be gay,
On his pay day.

Covering;
Catching;
Viewing;
Fumes,
Smoke and flames;
Waiting for his gain,

Drawing;
Collecting;
Bagging;
Transporting,
To the market
For cash in his pocket.

Fruits

Mammie-apple so nice;
China-plumb so ripe;
Golden apple so sweet:
Woo-oo! that's a treat.

Big ripe sugar apple;
Yellow sour damsel;
Cashew so juicy;
Red mangoes so fleshy
Guava, Stinking-toe,
We'll eat four times four;
Both Jimmy and me;
Before you count out three.

Bananas so yellow,
Oh! they're so mellow;
We'll eat some today,
Pray, don't tell us nay.

APPENDIX D

LANGUAGE AND COLONIALISM MODULE

Grenada In-Service Teacher Training Programme

Language Arts

MODULE 1: Language and Colonialism

Introduction

A stimulus module for broaching the question of language in the Caribbean, and the ways in which the English language itself was used by British Colonialism as an institution and instrument of oppression.

Objectives

Students should be able to:

1. Begin to think about the relationship between culture and language in a Caribbean context.
2. Begin to analyse how the English language was used by British Colonialism.
3. Begin to be aware of how certain imagery in the language sowed and consolidated racist complexes.
4. Understand that the language itself contained certain elements and contradictions that were utilised in the freedom struggles of Caribbean peoples.
5. Appreciate fundamentally that there are two language registers at work in Grenada.
6. Appreciate the truth that the English language, as an institution of colonialism, needs to be thoroughly

de-colonised, along with all other colonial institutions.

Content

1. The relationship between culture, language and production.
2. Some instances of uses made of the English language by British colonialism.
3. Aspects of the racist content of the imagery of the English language.
4. Aspects of the progressive dimension of the English language as used by Caribbean people for their own cultural and political resistance.
5. Some examples, using the language of poetry, of the coloniser's language as used by de-colonised peoples.
6. Consideration of the need to 'de-colonise' language itself.

Assignments

1. Study Samora Machel's poem: Culture. Write a poem or essay which features a Grenadian farmer in his own cultural environment. The writing exercise should be preceded by collective study and discussion of the poem.
2. Look at the way 'black' and 'white' are used as images in the English language. List examples collectively and comment upon the racist implications of such images.

3. As a collective exercise, find some Bible passages or stories which you think may have been seized upon by the Grenadian people as inspiration towards revolt or struggle.

4. Consider the poem: Cause is Causing Thing. Identify the uses of Creole in the poem and comment upon how this enhances the poem's effect.

5. Study the language of the poem: Worker Poet. How does the poet's use of language aid the content of the poem as a rejection of the past and colonial values?

6. Study carefully the theme of the poem: We are De-colonising the Land Rover. Find an example of an institution or instrument in Grenada that is being de-colonised, and write a poem or essay about it.

Reading

Lamming, George: In the Castle of My Skin

Fanon, Frantz: Black Skin, White Masks

Marryshow, T. Albert: Cycles of Civilisation

Moore, Richard B.: Language: Some Uses and Abuses

Moore, Richard B.: Caribs, 'Cannibals' and Human Relations

Searle, Chris: The Forsaken Lover: White Words and Black People

Cabral, Amilcar (Ed. Michael Wolfers): Unity and Struggle

Coard, Bernard: How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System

APPENDIX E

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDW	Colonial Development and Welfare
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSDP	Community School Day Programme
CPE	Centre for Popular Education
CXC	Caribbean Examinations Council
EPICA	Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Communication and Action
FWI	Free West Indian
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GMMWU	Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union
GPP	Grenada People's Party
GULP	Grenada United Labour Party
GUT	Grenadian Union of Teachers
JEWEL	Joint Effort for Welfare, Education and Liberation
MACE	Movement for the Advancement of Community Effort
MAP	Movement for the Assemblies of Peoples
MMA	Masters and Mistresses Association
NACDA	National Cooperative Development Agency
NISTEP	National In-Service Teacher Education Programme
NJM	New Jewel Movement
NWO	National Women's Organisation
NYO	National Youth Organisation
PRA	People's Revolutionary Army

PRG	People's Revolutionary Government
USA	United States of America
UWI	University of West Indies